

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH, WITH THE CO-OPERATION
OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

MANAGING EDITORS

FRANK J. MILLER
University of Chicago

ARTHUR T. WALKER
University of Kansas

For New England

MONROE N. WETMORE
Williams College

For the Pacific States

HERBERT C. NUTTING
University of California

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

GEORGE H. CHASE
Harvard University

WALTER MILLER
University of Missouri

DANIEL W. LOTHMAN
East High School, Cleveland

JULIANNE A. ROLLER
Franklin High School,
Portland, Oregon

GILBERT C. SCOGGIN
University of Missouri

CLARENCE W. GLEASON
Roxbury Latin School, Boston

FREDERICK C. EASTMAN
University of Iowa

JOHN A. SCOTT
Northwestern University

BERTHA GREEN
Hollywood High School, Los Angeles

VOLUME XIII
1917-18



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

70

Published

October, November, December, 1917

January, February, March, April, May, June, 1918

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

305
F 6
7.05 UN
OCT 15 1917

The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XIII

OCTOBER 1917

Number 1

Editorial	1
Titus Labienus	Frank Frost Abbott 4
Two Julias	Payson S. Wild 14
The Present Status of the Problem of Races in the Prehistoric Aegean Basin	A. E. R. Beak 25
A Day on Mount Eryx	W. H. Johnson 37
Fourth-Year Latin	H. C. Witting 45
The Enrichment of the High-School Latin Course	Myra H. Hanson 55
The Conspiracy of Orgetorix—A Dramatization	Brita L. Horner 61
Notes	
Mr. Maury on Achaian Greece	Walter Leaf 66
The Leaf-Ramsay Theory of the Trojan War	W. M. Ramsay 69
Current Events	
News from the Schools and Colleges	73
Book Reviews	77
<i>The New Greek Comedy</i> , Loeb (Flickinger).	
Recent Books	82

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON AND EDINBURGH
THE MARUZEN-KANUSHIKI-KAISHA, TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO,
FUJIOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY, SHANGHAI

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the co-operation
of the Classical Association of New England, and the Classical Association
of the Pacific States

Managing Editors

FRANK J. MILLER
University of Chicago

ARTHUR T. WALKER
University of Kansas

For New England
MONROE N. WETMORE
Williams College

For the Pacific States
HERBERT C. NUTTING
University of California

Associate Editors

GEORGE H. CHASE
Harvard University

FREDERICK C. EASTMAN
University of Iowa

CLARENCE W. GLEASON
Roxbury Latin School, Boston

DANIEL W. LOTHMAN
East High School, Cleveland

WALTER MILLER
University of Missouri

JOHN A. SCOTT
Northwestern University

GILBERT C. SCOGGIN
University of Missouri

JULIANNE A. ROLLER
Franklin High School, Portland, Oregon

BERTHA GREEN
Hollywood High School, Los Angeles

The *Classical Journal* is published monthly except in July, August, and September. The subscription price is \$2.50 per year; the price of single copies is 30 cents. Orders for service of less than a half-year will be charged at the single-copy rate. [Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands, Shanghai. [Postage is charged extra as follows: For Canada, 15 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$2.65); on single copies, 2 cents (total 32 cents). For all other countries in the Postal Union, 24 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$2.74); on single copies, 3 cents (total, 33 cents). [Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following publishing houses are authorized to quote the prices indicated:

For the British Empire: THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.4. Yearly subscriptions including postage, 11s. 3d. each; single copies, including postage, 1s. 4d. each.

For Japan and Korea: THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, 11 to 16 Nihonbashi Tori San-chome, Tokyo, Japan. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, Yen 5.50 each; single copies, including postage, Yen 0.66 each.

For China: THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY, 18 Peking Road, Shanghai. Yearly subscriptions, \$2.50; single copies, 30 cents, or their equivalents in Chinese money. Postage extra, if mailed direct outside of Shanghai, on yearly subscriptions 24 cents, on single copies 3 cents.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit. Deliveries are not guaranteed within the war zones of Europe nor in other countries where transportation is disturbed by conditions incident to war.

Business correspondence should be addressed as follows:

1. Concerning membership in the Classical Association of the Middle West and South to LOUIS E. LORD, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. The territory of the Association includes Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming. The membership fee is \$2.00 per year to residents of this territory.

2. Concerning membership in the Classical Association of New England to GEORGE E. HOWES, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. The membership fee is \$2.00 per year to residents of this territory.

3. Concerning membership in the Classical Association of the Pacific States to M. E. DEUTSCH, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. The territory of this association includes California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Arizona. The membership fee is \$2.00 per year to residents of this territory.

4. Concerning subscriptions (not related to membership) to THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be sent either to FRANK J. MILLER, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., or to ARTHUR T. WALKER, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.; from New England contributors, to MONROE N. WETMORE, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., and from the Pacific States to HERBERT C. NUTTING, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

Fifty reprints of articles will be furnished *gratis* to authors. Additional copies, if ordered in advance of publication, will be supplied at cost.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XIII

OCTOBER 1917

NUMBER 1

Editorial

ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE

When we hear that "only 39 per cent of the students in secondary schools now study Latin," we are apt to take a gloomy view of the situation, and those who make the statement generally intend to produce this view. But percentages, i.e., relative numbers, are likely to mislead, and, considering the fact that in the past quarter-century the high-school curriculum has been vastly expanded, that a great variety of new and interesting subjects has been offered to the student, and that numerous technical and commercial high schools have been established, it is not strange or damaging to Latin that it no longer draws as large a percentage of high-school students as formerly. The important thing is (and this is too frequently unknown or overlooked) that Latin not only maintains its absolute enrolment, but has actually increased this. According to Commissioner of Education Claxton's recent report, during the five years 1910-15 the Latin enrolment in secondary schools advanced from 400,000 to 500,000 (round numbers). Such a showing as this as to the country-wide status of Latin in the secondary schools certainly presents no reason for depression in the classical ranks.

OUR CONSTITUTION

[Although the Classical Association of the Middle West and South has been working under a constitution from the date of its organization, May 5, 1905, this constitution has never been published. At the annual meeting in April last, at Louisville, the matter of publication was brought up and recommended, on the ground that

our membership at large had a right to be fully informed as to this important feature of our organization. The Association accordingly voted that the constitution should be published in an early number of the *Journal*.]

ARTICLE I

NAME AND OBJECT OF THE ASSOCIATION

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Its object shall be the advancement of classical learning, the encouragement of classical studies within the territory indicated, and the promotion of the common interests of its members through its meetings and publications.

ARTICLE II

OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a President; a number of Vice-Presidents, to correspond with the number of states participating in the Association, one to be chosen from each state; of these vice-presidents one shall be designated as First Vice-President, to preside in the absence of the President, and to succeed him in the event of a vacancy in that office; and a Secretary-Treasurer.

SEC. 2. There shall be an Executive Committee, consisting of the President, the First Vice-President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and four additional members to be elected by the Association. Of these four additional members, one shall at the first election be named for a term of four years, one for a term of three years, one for a term of two years, and one for a term of one year. Thereafter one member shall be elected annually to serve for a period of four years.

SEC. 3. There shall be a program committee constituted according to the provisions of Article V.

SEC. 4. The election of officers shall take place at the second business session of each regular annual meeting.

ARTICLE III

MEETINGS

SECTION 1. There shall be a regular annual meeting at such time and place as the Association at a preceding meeting shall have named.

SEC. 2. The arrangements for all meetings shall be under the general direction of the Executive Committee.

SEC. 3. Special meetings of the Association may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, at such time and place as they may determine.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Any person resident within the territory designated by the name of the Association and approved by the Executive Committee may become a member on payment of the annual dues for the current fiscal year.

SEC. 2. The annual dues for each member shall be two dollars. Membership in the Association may be terminated if the annual dues of any member remain unpaid.

ARTICLE V

PROGRAM

The program of papers and addresses to be presented at the meetings of the Association shall be arranged by a committee which shall consist of the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and a third member to be appointed by them. The President of the Association shall act as chairman of this committee.

ARTICLE VI

PUBLICATIONS

All publications of the Association, with the exception of announcements etc., shall be under the charge of a board of editors, to be appointed by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII

AMENDMENTS

Changes in the above Constitution may be made by a two-thirds vote of the members present at a regular meeting, when written notice of such change has been made at the regular meeting preceding, and has been deposited with the Secretary-Treasurer.

TITUS LABIENUS

BY FRANK FROST ABBOTT
Princeton University

Most of us made the acquaintance of Titus Labienus in the *Commentaries* of Caesar, and it is hard to think of him without a Gallic background. At one moment the territory of the Treveri and at another that of the Morini or the Remi furnish the setting. Even when Caesar, at the end of a summer campaign, hurries to the South to take a hand in Italian politics, Labienus stays behind in charge of the winter quarters in Gaul. It is hard, also, to think of him otherwise than as a soldier and as Caesar's lieutenant.

But of course the career of Labienus neither began in 58 B.C. nor ended in the year 50; Gaul was not the only stage on which he played a part, but he followed the pursuit of arms into all parts of the Roman world—into Italy, Greece, Asia, Africa, and Spain. He was not only Caesar's lieutenant, but his most bitter opponent. What seems strangest of all to one who has come to know him in the *Commentaries* is the fact that he was an experienced politician as well as a soldier, and that it was his fate to be pitted against Cicero in one of the most famous political cases of his time.

His intimacy with Caesar runs through a period of twenty-eight years. From a chance reference in Cicero¹ we know that he served with Caesar in the naval campaign of Publius Servilius against the Cilician pirates in 78 B.C., so that Caesar and Labienus must have been of approximately the same age and may well have begun their careers together in the East. We hear nothing more of Labienus for fifteen years. When he appears on the stage of history again, he is once more in the company of Caesar, and one likes to think of his fortunes as interwoven with those of Caesar during these years when the records of his life fail us.

It is interesting to remember that the story of Labienus' life begins again in the year 63, and that in this year fall at the same time

¹ *Pro. Rab. perd. r.* 21; cf. *Suet. Iul.* 3.

two important events, one looking back into the past, the other forward into the future—the victory of the Republic over its radical enemies and the birth of Augustus. As we look back now upon these twelve months, we can see that they constitute a period of desperate struggle between the radicals and the conservatives, culminating toward the end in the outbreak of the Catilinarian conspiracy. In this contest Labienus took an active part. It began with proposals for the cancellation of debts, for the restoration to the rights of citizenship of those proscribed by Sulla, and with the land bill of Publius Servilius Rullus. This agrarian bill provided for the sale of large tracts of public land in Italy, Sicily, Asia, Macedonia, Spain, and Africa and for the use of the proceeds to buy land in Italy for poor citizens. Its provisions were to be carried out by a commission of ten men, who were to hold office for five years. Caesar would of course have been in control of the commission, and Pompey was cleverly made ineligible by a clause requiring candidates for places on the commission to present themselves in person. The extraordinary powers to be granted to the commissioners and their term of office went a long way toward overthrowing the principles on which the oligarchical government was founded. The fact that Cicero delivered four speeches against the measure shows the importance which he attached to its defeat. The radical course which Labienus followed during the year 63 and his active participation in Caesar's political projects make it certain that he vigorously supported all these proposals. We *do* know of three attacks made this year on the *boni* which Labienus himself led. Cassius Dio in his restrained way tells us (37.21) that Pompey used once, on returning from his Eastern campaigns, certain privileges granted him during his absence. The story of these privileges is recounted with more brutal frankness and particularity by Velleius Paterculus, who writes (ii. 40. 4) "*absente Cn. Pompeio T. Ampius et T. Labienus tribuni pl. legem tulerant, ut is ludis circensibus corona aurea et omni cultu triumphantium uteretur, scaenicis autem praetexta coronaque aurea. Id ille non plus quam semel, et hoc sane nimium fuit, usurpare sustinuit.*" The effect of this magnificence on Pompey's bearing when he returned is clearly reflected in one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (*Ad Att.* i. 18. 6) of 60 B.C.: "Pompeius

togulam illam pictam silentio tuetur suam." This measure furthered Caesar's far-reaching plans in two ways. It gave to an individual honors which were incompatible with the doctrine of aristocratic equality, and it tempted Caesar's future rival to a display of his inordinate vanity and his lack of the sense of humor.

Labienus rendered Caesar another conspicuous service by carrying a measure which repealed Sulla's law giving to the pontiffs the right to choose the pontifex maximus. The repeal of the *lex Cornelia* restored to the seventeen tribes of the people, chosen by lot, the right to elect the chief pontiff. This was all that Caesar needed in his candidacy for this office. His popularity was so great that not even a Catulus or a Servilius could oppose him successfully.

But that Labienus was picked out to conduct the case against Rabirius proves more clearly than any other incident of the year that he was Caesar's most trusted political lieutenant. Whether the penalty contemplated was a fine or death¹ is not of vital interest to us here. The purpose of the action was to bring out the unalterable opposition of the democracy to the final decree of the senate, and to warn magistrates in the future that anyone who ventured to carry out the provisions of this decree exposed himself to condign punishment. No one cared what became of poor old Rabirius, the man, but on his fate depended the vital issue between oligarchical government and democratic sovereignty. Cicero in his defense of Rabirius recognizes the purpose of his opponents to be "*ut illud summum auxilium maiestatis atque imperii, quod nobis a maioribus est traditum, de re publica tolleretur*" (*Cic. Pro. Rab. perd. r. 2*). The plans of the radicals were well laid. The *duoviri* who heard the case in the first instance were Julius Caesar himself and the ex-consul, Lucius Caesar, a man of little force of character. To Cicero and Hortensius for the defense, Labienus, the prosecuting tribune, allowed only a half-hour each, and to inflame the minds of the people he dramatically displayed on the rostra a likeness of Saturninus, who, it was said, had been done to death thirty-seven years before by the accused Rabirius (*Cic. Rab. 25*). We can imagine the chagrin of Labienus at having his plans brought to naught at the moment of their success by the clever trick of the

¹ Cf. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies*, p. 259, n. 1.

praetor Metellus, who removed the flag from the Janiculan and thus summarily caused the adjournment of the comitia. A technical victory was lost, and Labienus was outmaneuvered, but the attitude of the people toward the final decree was clearly enough shown.

One is tempted to find a fine sense of cynical humor in all three of these political moves which Labienus conducted under Caesar's direction during his tribunate. In the first case he secured for Pompey an honor which he knew would make him the butt of the city; in bringing about the repeal of the Cornelian law he was helping to elevate a free thinker to the head of the greatest Roman priesthood, and in bringing Rabirius to trial before duoviri he was reviving a procedure hoary with antiquity in defense of radicalism. In the latter part of his tribunate the conspiracy of Catiline came to a head. Labienus is not mentioned as having a part in it, and probably, like Caesar, he abstained from active participation in it, in distrust of the methods and the ability of those who promoted it.

We find him serving in Gaul in 58 B.C. as *legatus pro praetore* (*B.G.* i. 21. 2), so that he must have held the praetorship, probably in 59, and, if so, took part in the stirring events which occurred in the year of Caesar's consulship. Since forty was the probable minimum-age requirement for the praetorship, the fact that he held this office in 59 B.C. points to 99 B.C. as the approximate date of his birth, and confirms the conclusion, reached on other grounds, that he and Caesar were *coaequales*.

It was natural for Labienus to accompany Caesar to Gaul as one of his legati. There were five men holding this title in Gaul during the first year's campaign (*B.G.* i. 52. 1), but Labienus is the only *legatus* whose name is mentioned in the first book, and he seems to have been the only man of that rank who continued in the service during the entire nine years of Caesar's term as proconsul. As Holmes has said,¹ the powers of a *legatus* were not strictly defined. He might be intrusted with the command of a legion or of the entire army. The confidence which Caesar put in Labienus is clearly shown by the importance of the commands which he gave to him. He took charge of the winter quarters at the end of the first year's

¹ Caesar's *Conquest of Gaul*, p. 42 f.; 563 ff.

campaign; he was put over the three legions which operated against the Belgae (*B.G.* ii. 11. 3), and led four legions against the Senones and Parisii (*ibid.*, vii. 34. 2). His remarkable campaign against the two peoples last mentioned, against Indutiomarus (*ibid.*, v. 55 ff.), against the Treveri (*ibid.*, vi. 7 f.), and, above all, the brilliant stroke by which he won the day at Alesia (*ibid.*, vii. 86 ff.) and saved Gaul to the Romans more than justified the trust which Caesar placed in him. Caesar's words to his troops before the battle with Vercingetorix ("omnium superiorum dimicationum fructum in eo die atque hora docet consistere") prove conclusively that he appreciated the decisive character of the struggle into which the Romans were entering. It is interesting to notice that strategy played a great part in the tactics of Labienus. Thus in his campaign against the Parisii, by sending his noisy baggage train and his splashing boatmen up the stream, while the main body of his troops marched quietly in the opposite direction, he deceived the Gallic leader, Camulogenus, completely in regard to his plans. When Indutiomarus was besieging his camp, he skilfully kept him in ignorance of the arrival of reinforcements, and held his men in check until the enemy, in his confidence, fell into such a scattered and disordered state that a sharp sally from the camp overwhelmed him. By a somewhat similar device, after spreading the rumor that he was about to retreat, he moved his camp, tempted the Treveri to follow him, turned upon them suddenly, and drove them in all directions. He would seem to have shown in the field the same shrewd knowledge of human nature and the same skill in deceiving the enemy which he had probably found so useful in political life. Caesar had in mind the resourcefulness of Labienus and his ability to take the initiative, when, in describing the unexpected predicament in which his lieutenant found himself in his campaign against the Parisii, he remarks (*B.G.* vii. 59): "Tum Labienus tanta rerum commutatione longe aliud sibi capiendum consilium, quae antea senserat, intellegebat," and later, in his account of the same episode, he says: "Tantis subito difficultatibus obiectis ab animi virtute auxilium petendum videbat." Even when Labienus thought it unwise to lead his three legions to Caesar to join him in raising the siege of Quintus Cicero, Caesar, although greatly disturbed at the

small size of his own force, approved the decision of his legatus (*B.G.* v. 48. 1).

Caesar probably wrote the seven books of his *Commentaries on the Gallic War* before the outbreak of the civil war, and consequently before the defection of Labienus. The eighth book was apparently composed by Hirtius after the death of Caesar. In Caesar's narrative there is no criticism of Labienus and no attempt to belittle his achievements. But in the eighth book, while describing the events of 51 B.C., Hirtius harks back to an exploit of Labienus in the preceding year which, to our modern way of thinking, was much to the discredit of Caesar's lieutenant. I am not aware that anyone has discussed the significance of the omission of this incident in Caesar's narrative of 52 B.C., and its inclusion in the story of the following year by Hirtius. It is possible that Hirtius thought that the story of this earlier episode was necessary to an understanding of his account of the surrender of the Bellovaci. The incident, as it is recounted in the eighth book, will be recalled. Hirtius writes, "concurrunt reliquarum civitatum legati, quae Bellovarorum speculabantur eventum. Obsides dant, imperata faciunt, excepto Commio, quem timor prohibebat cuiusquam fidei suam committere salutem" (*B.G.* viii. 23). Then he proceeds to tell us that in the previous year Labienus heard that Commius was organizing an uprising of Gallic states. To nip this movement in the bud he sent a delegation, ostensibly to hold a peace parley with Commius, but in reality to assassinate him. Commius escaped with a severe wound. Consequently, in the following year he did not surrender himself with the other Gallic leaders, because, as Hirtius remarks, "statuisse dicebatur numquam in conspectum cuiusquam Romani venire." Such a breach of honor in dealing with primitive peoples was perhaps not so severely condemned by Roman public sentiment as it would be today, but it may be significant that this treacherous act of Labienus is not mentioned by Caesar, while it is described in detail by Hirtius, when, with the bitterness of Labienus' desertion of Caesar fresh in his mind, he sets down the story of the last two years of the war. The recital of this treacherous attempt on the life of Commius prepares us also for the story of the treachery, rancor, and cruelty of Labienus which we

find in the *Civil War*. It prepares us for the transformation of Dr. Jekyll into Mr. Hyde, for the curtain is about to fall on the Gallic war, and when it rises on the civil war the rôle of Labienus is changed. Caesar knew before the close of the year 50 that attempts were being made to tamper with the loyalty of his lieutenant, but he did not think that they would succeed. It is probably to Labienus that Pompey referred in the speech which he made to the senate a day or two after the passage of the final decree, when, in appraising the strength of his own forces and the weakness of Caesar's, he said, "*cognitum compertumque sibi, alieno esse animo in Caesarem milites neque iis posse persuaderi, uti eum defendant aut sequantur saltem*" (*B.C.* i. 6. 2). Until the step was taken, Caesar did not expect Labienus to go over to the enemy. This seems clear, not only from the explicit statement which Hirtius makes on this point, but also from the fact that just before the close of 50 B.C. Caesar made Labienus governor of Gallia Togata, with a view to furthering his own candidacy for the consulship.¹ If he had suspected Labienus of disloyalty, he would not have given him this position.

What led Labienus to desert his old commander? We have no proof that he was jealous of Caesar or that he felt himself slighted or ill treated by him. He was probably of lowly origin, and possibly the senatorial leaders held out to him glittering hopes of social and political advancement. He may have thought Caesar's future unpromising. We often ask ourselves whether toward the end of 50 B.C. Caesar expected a civil war or not. His failure to concentrate troops on the border seems to answer this question in the negative. But Labienus knew the character of Caesar, and he

¹ In his account of the arrangements made at the close of 50 B.C. Hirtius writes (*B.G.* viii. 52. 2), "*T. Labienum Galliae praefecit togatae, quo maiore commendatione conciliaretur ad consulatus petitionem.*" It is probable that reference is made here to Caesar's candidacy for the consulship, and the inference drawn above that Caesar wished to have the benefit of the political influence of Labienus is based on that interpretation of the sentence. It is just possible, of course, that Hirtius is speaking of Labienus' own hope of the consulship and of Caesar's kindness in furthering his candidacy. If this is the correct interpretation of the passage, Hirtius is putting in strong relief the perfidy of Labienus in going over to Caesar's enemies after having received this great favor at the hands of his commander. Only in case we understand the subject of *conciliaretur* to be personal, can we suppose that Caesar suspected the loyalty of his legatus.

probably knew Caesar's inflexible determination to insist on his rights. If Caesar could have counted with reasonable confidence on holding his provinces and on winning the consulship by peaceful political means, the facile tribune of 63 B.C. would hardly have hesitated to follow him, no matter how radical or devious the methods employed might be. But an attempt to overthrow Pompey and the Senate by armed force, and with an insufficient army at that, was another matter. It looks as if Labienus knew that Caesar expected war to follow and felt that his commander's plans spelled failure, or else Labienus made a shrewder forecast of the form which the struggle would take than his chief had made.

With the passage of Labienus from the Caesarians to the Pompeians, the *Letters* of Cicero take the place of the *Gallic War* as our source of information. On January 19, 49 B.C., less than a fortnight after the Senate threw down the gauntlet to Caesar, Cicero writes to Atticus (*Ad Att.* vii. 11. 1): "Labienus discessit a Caesare." He felt that the defection of Labienus would be a great blow to Caesar, and he expected other Caesarians to adopt the same course (*Ad Att.* vii. 12. 5; *Ad fam.* xvi. 12. 4). On January 23 he writes in a tone of vindictive triumph to Atticus: "Labienum ἡρώα iudico. Facinus iam diu nullum civile praeclarius; qui ut aliud nihil hoc tamen profecit: dedit illi dolorem. Sed etiam ad summum profectum aliquid puto" (*Ad Att.* vii. 13a. 1). A longer acquaintance with Labienus, however, led him to revise his opinion, for he writes three weeks later: "Nam in Labieno parum est dignitatis" (*Ad Att.* viii. 2. 3). But Cicero's revised estimate of Labienus was not shared by the other senatorial leaders. They took him at once into their intimate counsels; his arrival helped to allay the panic into which they had been thrown at the time of their precipitate departure from Rome (*Ad Att.* vii. 13a. 3; *ibid.*, vii. 16. 2), and Pompey made him his military adviser (*ibid.* vii. 15. 3). Undoubtedly the moral effect on Caesar's cause of the withdrawal of his most trusted lieutenant was likely to be far-reaching. Furthermore, Labienus knew the location and character of Caesar's troops. He was familiar with Caesar's methods in campaigning, while he himself was a commander of ability and experience. It would be interesting to know what part he had in drawing up the senatorial

plan of campaign. In the early months of the war Cicero criticizes the Pompeians severely for their evacuation of Rome, for their abandonment of Italy, and for the shiftiness of their plans. It would take us too far from our subject to discuss the soundness, from the political and military point of view, of this criticism. In view of the fact that Labienus thought Caesar's forces weak (*Ad Att.* vii. 16. 2), he may well have opposed the withdrawal from Italy. At all events, we can be sure that, after serving nine years under a commander who formed his plans quickly and definitely and directed the movements of all his subordinates, he would deplore the division of authority among the Pompeians, which was the most fatal point of weakness in their campaign in Italy.

With the transfer of the Pompeians across the Adriatic the story of Labienus is again taken up by Caesar. It is not germane to our purpose to analyze the campaigns in Epirus, Africa, and Spain and to try to make out the part which Labienus played in them. Determination, power to control his troops, and, if we accept the trustworthiness of Caesar's estimate of him, bitterness and cruelty were his marked characteristics. Before Dyrrachium he quieted the panic among the Pompeian troops by stepping out before them and taking an oath that he would not desert Pompey and would undergo whatever fortune had in store for him (*B.C.* iii. 13. 3), and in like manner before the battle of Pharsalus he swore that he would not return to the camp unless he returned as a victor (*B.C.* iii. 87. 5). The speech which Caesar puts in his mouth on this occasion is interesting, and it bears the marks of verisimilitude, because his disparagement of Caesar's troops tallies with what Cicero has told us on this point. For the story of Labienus' cruelty in putting his prisoners to death after the battle near Dyrrachium (Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 71. 4) we have already been prepared by the Commius incident. After the death of Labienus a tradition seems to have grown up that he was superstitious. It is at least an interesting coincidence that Appian (*B.C.* ii. 62) attributes the failure of the Pompeians to crush Caesar after the battle near Dyrrachium to the fact that Labienus was misled by a god; while in Africa, according to Lucan (ix. 550), he placed great dependence on oracles. But even if there is some truth in these stories, they may not disclose Labienus'

own attitude toward such matters, but only his shrewdness in making his soldiers believe that they were under divine guidance.

It is difficult to surmise what part Labienus had in directing the successive campaigns of the senatorial party. Knowing his cleverness in strategy, however, we are tempted to attribute to him the shrewd devices which Pompey used in getting his troops safely out of Brundisium, and perhaps the outmaneuvering of Caesar near Dyrrachium, and in the two battles where Labienus had full command or played an important part, at Ruspina and Munda, Caesar found his old lieutenant no easy adversary to overthrow. The reader who finds a pleasure in a life of dramatic consistency will follow the career of Labienus with special interest. As he had fought by Caesar's side from the beginning to the end of the Gallic war, so he is found among Caesar's opponents from the siege of Brundisium to the battle of Munda. Perhaps of no other distinguished Pompeian leader may this be said. The story of the battle of Munda closes with his death. Those who cannot forget his desertion of Caesar may not be averse to accepting the story of Appian (*B.C.* ii. 105) that after the battle the head of Labienus was brought to Caesar, while others who think of him only as a brave and successful Roman soldier will prefer to believe with the writer of the Spanish war (*B.H.* 31. 9) that he was buried on the field where he fell.

TWO JULIAS¹

BY PAYSON S. WILD
Chicago

I. JULIA DOMNA

About three years ago, just before the Temple of Janus and the Gates of Hell were simultaneously thrown open, I was idling away a dreamy hour in the hollow, resounding corridors of Caracalla's Baths.

There is no place for dreams quite like an ancient ruin. One need not be possessed of a romantic diathesis, or have been the subject of a Freudian clinic, in order to feel most keenly the pulse of an earlier time as one sits alone of an April day in the Forum, or gazes at Vesuvius from Pompeii's Street of Tombs, or dangles one's feet over the scarpulous cliffs of Capri. As I meandered through the roofless rooms of Caracalla's monument, reflecting upon that emperor's notorious career, I became painfully aware that I knew little or nothing of his mother, the great Julia Domna. Fortunately the scanty materials,² numismatical, inscriptional, and historical, for a study were at hand, and from them was written a prototype of which this short paper is the quintessential dregs.

The inquiry takes us to the end of the second century when the crest of the imperial wave had reached its height and was beginning to break. The century from Commodus to Diocletian was heavy with rottenness within, and was sore without from the constant and galling pressure of Rome's ubiquitous menace, the Northern invaders. It is a dark and dreary period. The monstrous vices, cruelties, and excesses of most of its emperors have become commonplace and are unilluminated by the glare of satire

¹ Read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

² "Studies in the Lives of Roman Empresses. I. Julia Domna," *Am. Jour. Archaeol.* VI, Second Series, 1902; Mary G. Williams, "II. Julia Mamaea," *Univ. of Mich. Studies* (Humanistic Series), I.

and biting epigram, for literature of any merit there is none. The unspeakable Commodus, the too virtuous Pertinax, and the venal, gluttonous worm Didius Julianus had passed. Septimius Severus had made his memorable march, a military feat of the first magnitude, and had formally assumed the purple.

Six years before this event Septimius had married his second wife at Lugdunum, where he was *propraetor*. The *Historia Augusta* relates that, when Septimius, after his first wife's death, was considering her successor, he heard that the horoscope of a certain oriental maiden had predicted that she was destined to be the wife of a king. The story goes on to say that Septimius forthwith sought her out and married her with a view to fulfilling her destiny. This maiden was Julia Domna, who, with her niece, our second Julia, "surpassed all others who bore the name *Augusta* in the dignity of their titles, in the public honor they received, and in the extent to which they participated in the actual administration of the government."

Of Julia's early years there is no record. She was the daughter of Julius Bassianus, a priest of that Eastern cult sun-worship, and lived in the small Syrian town of Emesa, known today as Homs. In spite of conflicting testimony we may conclude that her family was not considered ignoble, for the sun-priesthood was connected with royalty, and Julia remained openly, after she became empress, a member of the religious order into which she had been thrust by the accident of birth.

To Julia and Septimius were born two sons. The elder, who came to them while at Lugdunum, was called by his family Bassianus; by officialdom, after he received the title of Caesar, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; and by posterity Caracalla. The younger son, born in Rome during his father's first consulate, was Geta. The enduring hatred entertained for each other by these brothers, a passion with which they seem to have been endowed almost from birth, is one of the sad blots on Roman history and cannot fail to have left its scars upon the character of the long-suffering empress.

On the occasion of Septimius' triumphal entry into Rome after his record-breaking march, memorial coins were struck in honor of the new queen, bearing her name and the words *Bona spes* and

Boni eventus. During the first year of royalty Julia received the title of *Augusta*, which is found on all her subsequent inscriptions. She probably accompanied Septimius to Syria, whither he had set out on a long campaign to crush his rival, Pescennius Niger, and to subdue the East. The earliest dated inscription in Julia's honor is Sicilian and was dedicated in 195 at Palermo. This inscription and one of the year following at Narbo, in Gaul, in which she is called *Mater Castrorum*, are recognitions clearly enough of Julia Domna's frequent and inspiring presence among her husband's soldiers. With the extermination in Gaul of Albinus, the last remaining rival, an event doubtless instigated by Julia Domna, Septimius found himself an undisputed monarch, and the empire in a state of comparative tranquillity. Public buildings and monuments were inscribed as belonging to him and to his wife and sons. A milestone¹ found in Asia Minor is the oldest existing milestone inscribed with the name of an emperor's wife. After the names of Septimius and Caracalla we read: *Et Iulia Domna Aug. Mater Castrorum.*

Julia Domna's prominent mention in the inscriptional history of the next few years seems to show that both Septimius and the armies, to say nothing of the uncounted masses, recognized in her an unflagging helpmate and inspiring genius.

The materials for a character study of Julia Domna during the years that followed until Septimius died in Britain in 211 are very slender. About all we know is that she was accused by the praefect Plautianus, a sort of second Sejanus, of adultery; was tried and acquitted; that she went into temporary retirement and gave herself up to the study of philosophy; that her trial was publicly ignored and an attempt was made, as we may infer from coins and inscriptions, to clamp the lid on the mess and make it appear that Harmony and Concord still hovered over the Palatine; that in 204 a complete reconciliation took place between Julia and Septimius at the time of the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*; that she doubtless encouraged Caracalla to destroy Plautianus; that her genius and talent were recognized equally with those of Septimius in the construction of a more and more magnificent Rome; that she was the center of a group of philosophers, rhetors, and litterati,

¹ *CIL*, III, 482.

among whom the historian Cassius Dio not unlikely was numbered; and that finally in 208 she and her sons accompanied Septimius to Britain, where for three years the old emperor, who was sixty-two and gouty, waged his final campaign.

The death of Septimius left Rome in the hands of two half-grown tiger cubs, mutually jealous, mutually unendurable, and restrained only by the influence of their mother, whose thankless, but important, office it was to keep the family peace. In view of a general expectation of trouble there was much sacrificing to the gods and especially to Concordia. That Julia patched up a temporary working agreement between her sons is evidenced by coins, of which we have record, representing Caracalla and Geta clasping hands in the presence of their mother. Herodian tells us that the court councilors proposed that the empire be divided between the two princes, one to go East, the other to remain in Rome, but that Julia refused to indorse the scheme. She undoubtedly foresaw the definite cleavage of the empire that would follow such an arrangement, and it is not to be wondered at that she withheld her approval, if we imagine her, as we easily can, reflecting upon the arduous years spent by Septimius and herself in unifying and beautifying so diverse an entity as the imperial realm.

Geta's death at the hands of his berserker brother soon occurred, and was followed by the execration of his memory and the excision of his name from all public and private monuments. Caracalla made a thorough job of this, for in our collections of extant inscriptions there seems to be but one,¹ in Greek, that escaped his scrutiny. In the vacant spaces thus created were substituted additional triumphal titles of Caracalla and the amplified titles of Julia Domna, namely, *Iulia Pia Felix Augusta Mater Augusti et Caesarum et Senatus et Patriae*.

There are only fragmentary hints of the mental tortures to which Julia Domna must have been subjected during the ordeal of her son's murder and the subsequent Getan proscriptions, and we can imagine her sufferings but imperfectly. She was wounded by Geta's assassins; she was permitted no sign of mourning; she was compelled to witness the condemnation to death of Cornificia,

¹ CIG, 3956b; also, *Inscrip. Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, Vol. I, No. 855.

a daughter of Marcus Aurelius, for daring to express sympathy for Julia in the latter's bereavement; and she was obliged to accept with such regal equanimity as her position demanded the official view of the situation dictated by Caracalla that the two imperial survivors had providentially escaped great danger and might now live in peace and felicity! There are many inscriptions to this effect, and in them all we note that Julia Domna is associated with Caracalla in honors to an extent without parallel. One of these inscriptions is noteworthy.¹ It is a record of an Arval celebration and contains the *acclamationes* spoken to the emperor and his mother after the feasting. To my ear it has a Gregorian sonority and rhythm and a certain odor of sanctity as well as compulsory adulation. Julia Domna seems to be the only empress ever honored with the direct *acclamatio*.

The last four or five years of Julia Domna's life were spent on her native soil. Caracalla in his mother's company roamed the provinces, inspected the outposts, ordered the erection of forts, theaters, and public buildings with an extravagance which Julia could not restrain, suffered shipwreck, and at length established his court in Nicomedia, whence later it was moved to Antioch. Here, while "the common enemy of mankind" waged desultory wars, frequented the arena, drank with his soldiers, and indulged his cruel whims and vagaries, Julia Domna assumed the practical management of affairs and became the vice-regent of the empire. Of their relations Cassius Dio² says:

Neither in these matters nor in any others did Antoninus heed his mother, who gave him much excellent advice. This in spite of the fact that he intrusted to her the management of his correspondence, save the most important, and that he inscribed her name with many praises in his letters to the Senate, mentioning that he himself, the armies, and his mother were safe and well. It need not be stated that she publicly greeted all the foremost men, as did her son.

In spite of his criminal recklessness it is quite apparent that Caracalla insensibly leaned upon his mother's strong arm and realized more and more that she was the conservative element that held his rotting empire together. Hostile factions may have

¹ *CIL*, VI, 2086, line 16.

² 77.18.

resented this virtual if not actual subversion of the time-honored principle of masculine domination and so have caused to be circulated the malicious hint regarding which Dio is either discreetly or ignorantly silent and Herodian only gingerly articulate. These rumors, which were exploited with such relish by the later prevaricators, were doubtless the product of—

. . . . selfish, worthless human slugs, whose slime
Had failed to lubricate their path in life,

and can, it seems to me, be honorably discredited by unprejudiced investigators. If Julia's enemies deduced fire from the smoke created by their fancy with evil intent, the flame could have been naught but that of her devotion to imperial welfare.

In his twenty-ninth year, worn out by excesses, shattered in body and manhood, Caracalla was assassinated, the victim of a superstitious praefect who in three days was declared emperor. The double news reached Julia at Antioch. Her grief must have been strongly diluted with the remembrance of her son's terrible enormities and soon superseded by an insistent awareness that her own day of power and honor was at an end. It is said that she had hopes of being chosen by the Senate and the armies as empress. But it was not to be. Macrinus soon ordered Julia to leave Antioch, and thus put an end to her last hope of retaining her exalted position.

When, at a breath, the cherished image of power and authority suddenly crumbles to ashes, a proud and imperious nature will often refuse to accept the calamity, preferring the eternal silence to a barren and brooding existence, the heroic fortitude of a voluntary release to empty memories. The integrity of such a mind as Julia Domna's cannot and should not be called in question as we contemplate the self-chosen climax of her life, for it was the last logical link in her chain.

And so perished by her own hand a really remarkable woman, the wife of a conqueror, the mother of an unrestrained Caliban, forceful, dominant, self-controlled, not overvirtuous but never depraved, loyal, patient, gracious, universally revered; who deserved the honors she received and bore them well; who was a

staff to Septimius, a column to Caracalla, and failed of becoming a second Semiramis through no lack of queenly capacity.

II. JULIA MAMAEA

Another woman of this Syrian and priestly family of Bassianus was destined or doomed—as you will—to be the virtual ruler of Rome. She did not occupy the seats of the mighty for so long a period as did her distinguished aunt and predecessor, nor does she fasten herself upon the imagination with the same tenacity; but for twice as long was she the actual *dea in machina*, the engine of the imperial works, running true to form and to the best traditions of her indomitable family. Julia Mamaea was the niece of Julia Domna. Her mother, Julia Maesa, was also a crafty politician with whom Rome had to reckon, a woman of wealth, wit, and resource, and a king-maker, for she it was who set upon the throne those two widely contrasted princelings, the sons of her two daughters Julia Soaemias and Julia Mamaea, respectively, known to posterity as Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, the “Syrian Dynasty.”

The epic quality, to my mind, is lacking in the career of Julia Mamaea. In my fancy I see her unsubjected to the Homeric vicissitudes that made of Julia Domna the most conspicuous and perhaps most admirable character of the times. Julia Mamaea was doubtless the equal of the elder Julia in statecraft and executive wisdom, but her lot was less stormy, nor was she hampered by having continually to meet and adjust herself to the malicious caprices and headstrong devices of an uncontrollable son. She probably took no part in her mother’s conspiracy, which ended in the downfall of Macrinus and the installation of her sister’s son, Avitus, or Elagabalus, as emperor in the year 218. During the latter’s unsavory reign she seems to have held herself aloof from the hideous revels and indecorous pageantry which made up the life of this exquisite upstart, and to have devoted herself to her own son’s education, which she had planned to make most thorough. In this, as in everything else pertaining to Alexander’s training, Julia Mamaea showed herself to be a virile combination of a high-salaried, capable private tutor, and a carefully organized and efficient parents’ association.

The family saw to it, with their usual perspicacity, that Alexander was formally adopted by Elagabalus in order that he might be the next in succession, for it was clear that the emperor's lecherous light would soon be snuffed out, threatened as it was by the gusts of praetorian fickleness and carnal license. That Elagabalus was suffered to be the nominal and divine head of the state for nearly four years and to do the deeds of perversion credited to him both by his contemporaries and by those of a later century, who colored their transcriptions with yellow and black, is indeed an accusation against Roman patience; for, if there be any truth in the historical information bequeathed to us, the annals of lubricity and voluptuousness should begin and end with this Syrian Priapus.

As the result of a quarrel between the two cousins, or, more properly, between their mothers, in which Elagabalus may have accused Alexander of being "pious" (not in the inscriptional sense!), Elagabalus was slain by the praetorians, who were ever the creators and destroyers of emperors. Elagabalus had already attempted to put an end to Alexander, on the ground that the latter persistently refused to participate in the royal orgies, whereupon Mamaea prepared herself for the inevitable second attack by generously bribing the guard and winning its support for the time being.

In the year 222 she came to the throne supporting her docile lamb Alexander on her lap with one hand, and holding his crown on his head for him with the other—a picture which is an adumbration of the thirteen years following; for, while all the acts of this gentle emperor are recorded in his name, I am quite strongly of the belief that his mother was their real author. The careless company of writers whose works comprise the *Historia Augusta* often exaggerate and throw halos around with reckless disregard of fact, relying altogether too much on the rosy metamorphoses of oral tradition. I think that they have grossly overdone the adolescent Alexander, and the always readable if not impeccable Gibbon seems in the case of this emperor¹ to have followed the later authorities too slavishly and to have painted a buttercup instead of a lily. We cannot be asked to believe, without having our suspicions

¹ Gibbon (Bury's ed.), Vol. I, chap. vi, pp. 151 ff.

aroused as to some sort of subnormal condition of Alexander's mind, that a youngster born to the purple, of Bassianian blood, gradually made aware by ordinary observation of the license that was his for the taking, a witness of the customary behavior of emperors, an unconscious victim of his times, could so tamely have submitted to a Puritanical regimen and a Jane Austen domesticity. If the *Historia Augusta* is right, then either Alexander was an unusual child or Mamaea an unusual mother. It seems more than likely that Alexander never got quite clear of the strings of his mother's stole, that he never developed or was allowed to develop his own initiative, and that he depended upon his mother, not as Caracalla upon Julia Domna in order that he might devote his imperial time to sport, drink, and arms, but as a fledgling, half-feathered, cheeping for maternal solicitude.

Alexander received in one day from the Senate all the multifarious honors that went to make one an emperor. This is a significant commentary on the foresight of Mamaea, for thereby she forestalled any and all other claimants. We do not need to have the historians tell us that Alexander's first official act was to confer the title of *Augusta* upon his mother, or that hers was to select a board of counselors, consisting of senators and soldiers, who should advise with herself and Alexander, and to appoint the praefect and distinguished jurist Ulpian as the emperor's tutor and guardian.

Of the next few years we know but little directly of Julia Mamaea. She kept her finger constantly on her son and, like our revered New England mothers, carefully chose his mates and friends and never permitted him to mingle or be seen with persons whose repute was below a standard of her own determining. In sharp contrast, this, to Catherine de Medici, who induced her sons to commit follies and excesses that thereby they might be weakened and so become more plastic in her hands to do her will.

Julia Mamaea's anomalous position under Roman law is nicely illustrated by an imperial decree¹ in effect two years after Alex-

¹ "Imp. Alex. Aug. Otaciliae: 'Tutelam administrare virile munus est, et ultra sexum feminae infirmitatis tale officium est. X Kal. Oct. Iuliano et Crispino Coss.'" —C.I.C. Cod. 5, 35.

ander's accession. Our historians of Roman feminism will take due note of it. It must have had to do with Ulpian's appointment as guardian, and was a tacit recognition beyond a doubt, designed to avoid the establishment of a dangerous legal precedent, of Julia's true position. It was: "It is a *man's* business to administer guardianship; for such duties are not the part of the weaker sex." And this decree was sealed by Alexander! Surely there is maternal cunning here.

To rehearse the events of the remainder of Mamaea's reign—for so I term it—would add little to our portrait. Second only to the praetorians, into whose hands for good or ill she always knew she was committed, the doughty Mamaea conducted the ship of state for thirteen years through the first comparatively quiet waters it had encountered since the death of the Stoic Marcus. She married her son to a young noblewoman, Orbiana, but soon banished the daughter-in-law, perhaps for aspiring to the royal prerogatives. She could not save Ulpian from the fury of the guard, nor could she win, although she did not lose, the war with Persia, which she conducted under the figurehead leadership of Alexander. She was able to suppress

. . . . the rabble's brabbles of dolts and fools
Who made up reasonless, unreasoning Rome,

and she was able to repair the nation's finances shattered by recent extravagance. She failed, however, in one important respect. In her desire for a bloodless reign she neglected to purchase it by the only means possible—well-paid and contented legions. Pacific desires and parsimony were fatal. In 235 Julia Mamaea and Alexander were put to the sword in their tents by ugly conspirators on the borders of Germany, and no man knoweth their sepulcher to this day. It must have been a bitter moment for Mamaea, for her son, true to the instincts which his mother had ever kept alive, clung to her, and yet reproached her as the cause of his misfortune.

A truly great woman, as her hundreds of coins and inscriptions abundantly prove, an executive not inferior to Julia Domna, and something of an idealist, Julia Mamaea yet suffers by comparison with her more heroic aunt. As a "managing mother" she reaped

her due reward, for the gods have ever small concern and much sardonic laughter over the fate of supersollicitous parents, who, like Mamaea or Sir Austin Feverel, discover too late that strictly home systems of education are usually fatal.

These brilliant Syrian women seem to me during their tenures to have cast a becoming cloak over the

Muddy vesture of Rome's decay;

and when, in

The incalculable up and down of Time

I shall next visit Caracalla's Baths, I shall doubtless be tempted to scratch upon some fallen brick lines resembling these:

Daughters of Mithra, vanished toys of Fate,

Di vos servent, Augustae Augustarum;

Wrapped in the purple of your high estate,

Vobis salvis, nos securi sumus;

Hid by the mists of intervening days,

Felicissimae, felicissimae,

Grant me to carve upon your burial vase

In Caesar's cold necropolis:

"VOBIS TERRA SIT LEVIS."

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE PROBLEM OF RACES IN THE PREHISTORIC AEGEAN BASIN

By A. E. R. BOAK
University of Michigan

The rich discoveries which, since the opening of the present century, have rewarded the labors of archaeologists on Crete and the neighboring islands have overthrown or modified most of the theories previously held with regard to the so-called Mycenaean civilization and placed in an entirely new light the early cultural development of the whole Aegean area, besides raising new problems regarding the Greek migrations and the historical background of the Homeric poems. This upsetting of the once generally accepted views concerning early Aegean history and the sudden illumination of an epoch hitherto hidden from us in the darkness of the unrecorded past necessarily caused the rise of a flood of conflicting hypotheses offered in the attempt to interpret adequately the recent finds and to correct, in the light of the newly acquired knowledge, opinions formerly current. But since the discussion thus provoked has led to the careful sifting of the various theories advanced until finally some stable and generally accepted conclusions have been reached, it may prove not unprofitable to take stock of the work that has been accomplished, to see just to what extent our historical horizon has been widened, what positive results have been attained, and what problems still await solution. What follows is an attempt to summarize the results of the work of archaeologists, philologists, and historians during the past decade and a half in connection with racial problems in the basin of the Aegean.

The work of Schliemann and his successors in revealing the Bronze Age civilization which once flourished at Tiryns, Mycenae, and other mainland sites raised the questions: "Who were the authors of this civilization?" and "If they were not Greeks, to what extent did the latter share in this culture?" The first of

these questions may now be held to have received a definite answer, but regarding the second, authorities are still at variance.

In the light of the recent excavation conducted throughout the Aegean area in general and on the island of Crete in particular, it is possible to construct the following outline of the cultural development in this region prior to the opening of the first millennium B.C. Throughout the Neolithic period, which at various points can be traced back beyond 4000 B.C., there was a homogeneous civilization extending from Cyprus westward over the islands of the Aegean and the peninsula of Greece and northward over the western part of Asia Minor as far as Troy. There, in the northern Aegean, this civilization came into contact with the primitive culture of Thrace and the lower valley of the Danube. Naturally this general uniformity of culture did not exclude a number of peculiar local developments. With the spread of the knowledge of the use and working of metals, at about the opening of the third millennium, this whole area gradually passed out of the Neolithic into the Bronze Age. From this time onward the cultural development on the islands of the Aegean was more rapid than on the mainland and, among the islands themselves, first the Cyclades (notably Melos), and later Crete, took the lead. The progress at these two centers was along parallel but distinctive lines until, not long after 2000 B.C., the civilization of Crete, as the result of impulses no longer determinable, advanced with such rapid strides that its influence became dominant throughout the whole Aegean. From Crete it spread over the adjacent islands and to the mainland of Greece, where it had obtained a strong foothold at Tiryns by the close of the eighteenth century and later was firmly established at numerous points in the Peloponnesus and Central Greece. Troy was also affected by this cultural expansion, although much more superficially, but the west coast of Asia Minor in general escaped its influences. On Crete itself the development from the Neolithic to the rich Bronze Age culture that reached its zenith about 1500 B.C. was steady and consistent. Although showing in many points the results of contact with Egypt and, to a much lesser degree, with the culture of Mesopotamia, this Cretan civilization was undeniably an essentially independent, insular product. In

Greece, from Thessaly southward, and throughout the southern Aegean this type of civilization prevailed for several centuries and perished in the disturbances of the period 1300-1000 B.C., which accompanied the settling of the Hellenes in their historic abodes. Thus the Cretan discoveries have disposed of the claims of Phoenicia to be the source of the Mycenaean civilization and have established the validity of the theories of those who looked for its home on the islands of the Aegean.

With regard to the terminology and chronology for the period under consideration, among the various systems that have been advocated the following scheme is now most widely accepted. The Cretan Bronze Age civilization is termed "Aegean" or, following a somewhat arbitrary nomenclature, "Minoan"; while the whole era during which it flourished is divided into three periods, styled Early, Middle, and Late Minoan respectively, on the basis of differences in the characteristics of Minoan art at various stages of its development. The end of the Early Minoan period is placed *ca.* 2200 B.C., of the Middle period *ca.* 1600 B.C., and of the Late period *ca.* 1200 B.C. The term Mycenaean in its wide sense corresponds to Late Minoan.

On the basis of philological and anthropological evidence it is generally agreed that during the Neolithic and the greater part of the Bronze Age the population of Asia Minor from Troy to Cyprus was uniform in race as well as in culture. Linguistically, this race was distinct from both Indo-Europeans and Semites, while physically it was a brachycephalic, "Alpine" type. It embraced the Karians, Leleges, Lydians, Pisidians, Isaurians, and Cilicians, besides other peoples whose names are less familiar to us. That this race at one time also occupied the Cyclades and the mainland of Greece is revealed by the pre-Hellenic place-names which survived there into historic times, as well as by the Greek tradition of a Karian occupation of these regions. It is for this reason that the name of Karian has been suggested as a general designation for the pre-Hellenic population of Asia Minor and the Aegean area. Whether the authors of the Cretan civilization are to be regarded as belonging to this widespread racial group is still a debated question. In contrast to the Asianic

peoples they were originally a dolichocephalic race, of the "Mediterranean" type. However, from the earliest times there is evidence for the presence of brachycephalic elements, which increase gradually, until, in the Late Minoan epoch, they represent a very considerable proportion of the population. Thus anthropological evidence points to a considerable degree of race mixture on the island. The Eteokretes and Eteokarpathoi, who in historic times dwelt on Crete and Karpathos respectively, were survivors of the pre-Hellenic Cretans. They have left some traces of their language, but these fragments have not yet been interpreted and have so far failed to give any clue of Asianic affiliations. There are, however, good grounds for the belief in the close connection of the Cretans with the Lykians, Turseni (Etruscans), and Philistines, all of whom we now know to have been maritime peoples of the Aegean. It is quite certain that the Cretans who developed the Minoan civilization were a non-Hellenic people. A slight, brunette, dark-haired race, their appearance, their fashions of male and female attire, their style of architecture, their religion, and their burial customs differentiate them clearly from the Greeks. The name given them by the Egyptians was Kefti, which closely resembles that of Kaphtor, by which the Hebrews designated their island. However, the racial affinities of these islanders will probably be settled only when their inscriptions can be read; and the latter have so far defied all efforts to interpret them.

Until well into the Bronze Age the mainland of Hellas, as we have seen, in its southern part at least was inhabited by a people akin to the Karians. But by the opening of the second millennium B.C. this population had been displaced by, or absorbed in, a Greek-speaking people, the first comers of the Hellenes from the North, who, as is now generally agreed, by that date were firmly established throughout the peninsula. The descendants of the people who made up this first wave of Hellenic migration, more or less mingled with pre-Hellenic elements, were in all probability the historic Arcadians and Ionians.

These northern invaders were still in the Neolithic stage of culture when they arrived in the southern part of the Balkan peninsula, and in Thessaly and Boeotia they remained at this level

until late in the Third Minoan period. However, in the Argolid and elsewhere they came into contact with the Aegean Bronze Age culture, which at the close of the Middle Minoan period appears in full bloom on the mainland. The question then presents itself whether this development was the work of a Greek population stimulated by intercourse with Crete and the other centers of Aegean civilization or entirely extraneous in its origin, introduced by conquerors (Cretans) from overseas. Both views have enthusiastic supporters.

Those who argue for a Greek development point out that the ground plan of the mainland palaces is the *megaron* type that occurs among the people of North Greece and Troy, corresponds with the description of the Homeric palace, and is perpetuated in the historic Greek temple. It differs entirely from the plan in fashion on Crete. Further, they maintain that the gold masks found in the Mycenaean shaft tombs of the beginning of the Late Minoan period depict the rulers of Mycenae at that time as different from the Cretans and as exhibiting Hellenic characteristics. Finally, they refer to the Homeric tradition of Greek (Achaian) dynasties at Mycenae and Tiryns, and throughout Greece generally, as well as on Crete itself in the Bronze Age. In general, the supporters of this view do not suppose a fresh influx of Hellenic invaders, but Beloch believes that this sudden rise of Minoan culture on the mainland was due to a second wave of Greek migration—that of the Achaeans, whom he regards as Dorians—who readily made their own the more advanced Aegean civilization and became its champions, not its destroyers.

On the contrary, the defenders of the theory of a Cretan conquest of part of the mainland believe that such a rapid cultural development is more adequately explained on this supposition than otherwise. They are also able to show that it is only in its ground plan that the mainland palace architecture differs from that of the inland; while in all other respects, in art, religion, and even in writing, the civilization of Mycenae and its neighbors presents the same aspects as that of Knossos. The adoption of the *megaron* palace type, as well as certain changes in costume, is considered as the result of mainland influences and concessions to a more northern

climate, just as the fortified citadels were erected to meet political conditions other than those existing on Crete itself.

In the fourteenth century B.C. the great palaces of Knossos and Phaistos were violently destroyed, while the mainland towns continued to flourish undisturbed. Here a new problem arises. Did Knossos and Phaistos fall because of local feuds or at the hands of foreign invaders? If the second alternative is true, were these invaders from Mycenae, and, in that case, were they the descendants of former Cretan colonists with their subjects, or were they Greeks? These questions have not yet received a positive answer, but the consensus of opinion is that this destruction was the work of the rulers of Mycenae, the dominance of whose power on the mainland is attested by the system of military roads which they constructed. Some believers in a Greek conquest of Crete at this time assert that the conquerors belonged to the early Greek population which had absorbed its foreign masters and adopted their civilization, while others hold this expansion to be the result of the arrival of fresh hordes of Hellenic immigrants and date at this time the coming of the Achaians. The advocates of the latter view call attention to the contemporary influx of the Indo-European Phrygians into Asia Minor, where they displaced the older population in the Troad and part of the central plateau of the peninsula. The occupants of the sixth city of Troy belonged to the invaders of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, those who maintain that the conquerors from Mycenae were of the same race as the Cretans themselves refer to the uninterrupted continuity in the development of the mainland culture as affording no evidence for any change of the ruling class at this time. For the Mycenaean civilization continued to flourish until the twelfth century, and it is only toward the close of this epoch that some archaeologists believe that they can detect traces of the presence of a new race both on the mainland and on the island of Crete.

Thus while the whole of the Late Minoan period is regarded by some as an era of Greek (either pre-Achaian or Achaian) supremacy in the southern Aegean, others believe that the pre-Hellenic elements maintained their predominance until near its close, where they place the Achaian conquest. Accordingly, we have two rival

schools of interpreters, which, although agreeing in the main upon the successive stages in the history of the civilization in this area, differ widely in regard to the sustainers of this culture at various epochs. Both agree, however, that the highly developed civilization in the Aegean basin during the latter part of the Bronze Age was Cretan in its origin. The attitude taken regarding this question has its significance in that it determines our point of view with regard to the state of civilization attained by the Hellenic peoples prior to the last great migratory movements. The weight of numbers is on the side of those who believe that the Greek supremacy had been established by the time of the destruction of the Cretan palaces at the latest, a view that finds supporters among scholars of all countries. The minority who hold to a non-Hellenic predominance down to the thirteenth century consist of a small group of British scholars, the followers of Sir Arthur Evans. The difference between these two schools will be brought out in the accompanying chronological table.

It is certain that from the thirteenth to the tenth century B.C. there occurred a series of great disturbances in the Aegean area which resulted in migrations of pre-Hellenic and Hellenic peoples, caused the fall of the Minoan culture with a lapse to a lower stage of civilization, and ended with the distribution of the Greeks in their various linguistic groups as we find them in historic times. There can hardly be any doubt that this displacement of population and cultural decline is to be attributed in great part to the penetration of new peoples of Greek speech into the lower part of the Balkan peninsula, namely, the Dorians and the Northwest Greeks (Boeotians and Thessalians). Their coming produced a series of migratory movements among the peoples already established throughout this area. Wherever these latter could not maintain themselves they were forced to become part of a subject population or to seek new abodes. The expansion of the Ionians and the Achaians across the Aegean—a movement already well under way—was hastened by the pressure exerted by the newcomers, who, in the case of the Dorians, finally followed their predecessors to Crete and the shores of Asia Minor. This fresh advance of the Greeks affected Aegean peoples who had not been disturbed by the earlier movements of

the Hellenes. It was during this period that invaders of various races from the coasts of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands appeared on the northern borders of Egypt in the reigns of Merenptah (1229) and Rameses III (1190). Some of these raiders came in search of new homes, others were attracted by hopes of plunder only. Among them we find the Lykians (Luku), Philistines (Pulusati), Tyrrhenians (Tursha), and even Achaians (Akhaivasha). Beloch's view that the Achaians were Dorians and that there was no such thing as a "Dorian" migration at the close of the Aegean Bronze Age presents no satisfactory explanation of these disturbances and the breakdown of the older civilization.

It will now be quite clear that the evidences of archaeology can harmonize perfectly well with the results of philological research upon the question of the successive strata of population in Greece during the Bronze Age. Arranged in chronological order, these elements were the following: (1) pre-Hellenic Aegeans; (2) "Ionian" and "Arcadian" Greeks; (3) Achaians; (4) West Greeks (Dorians, Boeotians, Thessalians). This order of the Greek migration is reflected in the settlement of the islands, the west coast of Asia Minor, and Cyprus. With the tenth century B.C. these movements had terminated and the Aegean world had passed from the Bronze to the Iron Age.

And so, in the light of the recent discoveries, we are now able to see some of the background of truth in the Greek traditions of a pre-Hellenic population throughout the Aegean area, of a Karian thalassocracy, of the supremacy of Crete under a king, or kings, called Minos, of the Labyrinth and the Minotaur, of the extraneous origin of some features of the Greek civilization, and of dynasts from overseas ruling in the Peloponnesus and Boeotia. We have also won fresh light upon the origin of the *historic* Greek alphabet, which may now safely be regarded as a development of the Cretan, either through the Phoenician or through some primitive Greek media. And, finally, in the race mixture due to the long association of the first Hellenic invaders and their predecessors upon the shores of the Aegean, an explanation is found of the remarkable and hitherto surprising artistic capacities of certain historic Greek peoples, as well as of their physical characteristics,

which in historic times were not those of the Greeks of the epos.

For the historian the two chief problems raised by the Homeric poems are the amount of historical fact that is preserved in the story of the epos and the period or periods of which the society and civilization are reflected therein. These questions have received fresh attention as a result of the recent discovery of the origin of the Aegean civilization.

With regard to the first problem, recognition of Aegean peoples in the invaders of Egypt in 1229 and 1190 B.C. gives definite dates for the period of displacement of population in the Aegean basin and may be taken to lend confirmation to the traditional date of the destruction of Troy (1184 B.C.), which can be looked upon as a striking episode in the expansion of the Greeks over the Aegean. Further, the Egyptian raids show that combinations of large forces for similar military enterprises was a possibility, and therefore the congregation of an Achaian host to blockade Troy was quite a feasible undertaking. Troy itself occupied a site which gave its occupants the control of avenues of commerce linking up widely separated lands, and this was the basis of its prosperity at various epochs. Its wealth and strategic importance had caused the destruction, possibly at the hands of the Hittites, of the second city about 2000 B.C. The sixth city, under Phrygian rulers, also suffered a violent destruction, as its ruins attest. Its fall cannot be definitely dated by archaeological evidence, but it may safely be placed toward the end of the Late Minoan epoch, when the Greeks were the dominant, aggressive factor in the Aegean, and so must have been its conquerors. Nor does there seem any reason to doubt that they, or at least their leaders, bore the name of Achaians. It is another question how we are to picture to ourselves the political aspect of the Greek world during the period of Achaian supremacy. Upon this point opinions differ widely, and the Achaians are variously represented as forming a group of independent principalities, whose chieftains followed Agamemnon of Mycenae as a *primus inter pares*, or as a number of such states owing allegiance to the lord of Mycenae and following him at his behest. The latter view presupposes the political unity of the

greater part of the peninsula of Greece and the immediately adjacent islands. Its advocates lay considerable stress upon the Mycenaean system of military roads as indicative of the far-reaching political power of its rulers, but this system only extended across the Peloponnesus from the Gulf of Argos to the Gulf of Corinth. It is probable that opinions will continue to vary upon this point according to each person's interpretation of the *Iliad* regarding the relations existing between Agamemnon and the other princes of the Achaeans.

As to the second problem, the culture and society reflected in the epos is not that of one single period, but contains older and newer elements, of which the former may be attributed to the close of the Late Minoan epoch, and the latter to a time contemporary with or subsequent to the final Greek migrations. The older civilization is clearly that of Mycenae and Tiryns of Late Minoan times; the people, however, are not Karians or Cretans, but Greeks. For those who regard the Achaean supremacy as established on the mainland prior to the fall of Knossos at the latest these facts present no difficulties, but they require explanation from those who place the Achaean conquest at a later date. If this view is correct, how is it that the armor of the Homeric heroes and their methods of fighting correspond so closely with those of the pre-Achaean warriors represented with such frequency on objects of art from Mycenae and elsewhere? This may be explained by supposing either that the Achaeans in these respects accepted wholesale the experience of the people they overcame, or that a good deal of the material in the Homeric poems is derived from the courts of the pre-Achaean rulers of Mycenae, and is, therefore, if we regard these as Cretans until the thirteenth century, of non-Hellenic origin. The same conclusions follow from a comparison of the description of the Homeric palaces and such masterpieces of artistic ability as the "Shield of Achilles" with the products of Mycenaean architects and craftsmen. Is it possible, then, that we have in the Greek epic itself testimony to the influence of non-Hellenic elements in Greek life due to mixture of races? Upon this point scholars naturally tend to take different views according as they approach the question from the point of view of students of Greek literature or under

the influence of the study of Cretan archaeology. The one class claims as Hellenic much of the Minoan culture, the other regards as Minoan much that appears in the Homeric poems.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

	I. General Chronological Scheme	II. Evans' Scheme
Ca. 2800 B.C.	Beginning of the Bronze Age civilization on the island of Crete.	<i>Idem</i>
Ca. 2000.	First Hellenic migration into Greece.	<i>Idem</i>
Ca. 1700.	Cretan expansion to the mainland. Cretan civilization flourishing at Tiryns. Beloch believes this was only a spread of culture.	<i>Idem</i>
Sixteenth century .	Greek predominance at Tiryns, Mycenae, etc. Beloch and Dörpfeld consider this an Achaian supremacy. Dörpfeld also claims an Achaian occupation of Crete by this date.	Cretan supremacy on the mainland continues. No invasion of Crete.
1400-1300.	Destruction of Knossos and Phaistos by Greeks from the mainland. Dörpfeld denies that such a destruction occurred at this time.	Knossos, etc., overthrown by descendants of Cretan conquerors of mainland with their Greek subjects.
Ca. 1300.	The Achaians move southward and eastward from Thessaly. Beginning of the Northwest Greek invasions.	
1300-1200.	Achaians conquer their Greek predecessors in the Peloponnesus and the Cretans on their island. Ionian migration to Asia Minor begins. Migrations of Aegean peoples to Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, etc., commence.	Achaians supplant the non-Hellenic rulers in Greece and Crete.
Ca. 1100.	Dorian migration. Continued spread of the Greeks to the islands and the coasts of Asia Minor. Beloch denies the Dorian migration. Dörpfeld places the fall of Knossos and Phaistos at this time.	<i>Idem</i>

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beloch, K. J. *Griechische Geschichte*. 2. Aufl. Bd. I. 1912.
 Bury, J. B. *A History of Greece*. 2d ed. 1913.
 Dörpfeld, W. "Kretische, mykenische und homerische Paläste," *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1905.
 ———. "Die kretischen Paläste," *ibid.*, 1907.
 Dussaud, R. *Les Civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer égée*. 2d ed. 1914.
 Evans, A. J. "The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1912.

- Hall, H. R. *The Ancient History of the Near East*. 1913.
- Kretschmer, P. *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. 2. Aufl. 1905.
- . *Zur Geschichte der griechischen Dialekte*. Glotta, 1909.
- . *Gercke u. Norden's Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*. I, *Sprache*, 1910.
- Leaf, W. *Homer and History*. 1914.
- Lehmann-Haupt, C. F. "Griechische Geschichte," in *Gercke u. Norden's Einleitung*. III. 1910.
- Meyer, Eduard. *Geschichte des Altertums*. 2. Aufl. Bd. 1, 2. 1909.
- Myres, J. L. *The Dawn of History*. 1911.
- Ridgeway, W. "Minos the Destroyer, etc.," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1909.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. von. "Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen," in *P. Hinneberg's Kultur der Gegenwart*, 1910.

A DAY ON MOUNT ERYX¹

By W. H. JOHNSON
Denison University

It was on a sunny June morning that I took the western Sicily train at Palermo for Trapani. Thirty years ago Ferdinand Gregorovius, historian of Rome in the Middle Ages, made the same trip and expressed intense indignation at the "furious haste" with which he was rushed through the splendid and legend-laden scenery between the two points. Anyone who has had much experience in railway travel will smile at the application of the word "haste" to a train on the western Sicily railroad; and yet it is a pity to go through such a region, filled with present beauties and memories of so many and so varied pasts, at any rate of speed faster than a slow walk broken by long pauses for enjoyment and reflection.

It was well past noon when we reached Marsala, Lilybaeum of old, where Romans and Carthaginians fought in the Punic Wars, and where Garibaldi effected his landing and began his brilliant campaign in 1860. The great wine establishments of the Ingham-Whitaker Company, Florio, and Woodhouse are its distinctive features today. From Marsala up the coast to Trapani one's eye is caught by countless evaporating basins of more than forty salt-making establishments, with many windmills, used both for pumping the sea-water into the basins and for pulverizing the hardened salt. I was alone and was approaching Trapani with no prearranged program to hamper my movements, a way of traveling which will doubtless seem to many desultory and ineffectual, but which one summer's experience proved to me to have many and great advantages—perhaps enough to excuse even its apparent selfishness. It was hot, windy, and dusty along the shore as we neared Trapani, and a glance out of the window on the right side at once determined my immediate course. Above the dust and heat,

¹Read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

neatly outlined against the sky, stood ancient Eryx, the Monte San Giuliano of today. Gregorovius thought it "the very ideal of a mountain, the masterpiece of Nature in mountain formation," rising majestically out of the plain, as Maritimo, ancient Hiera, loftiest of the Aegatian Islands, rises out of the brine a few miles to the west. Trapani has its objects of interest, but with that dustless mountain top in sight there was no thinkable alternative for me. As soon as the train pulled into the station, with the irreducible minimum for the night in a handbag, I started on foot for the summit. Determined to find my way without asking anybody, I ran into two or three blind alleys before I finally got started up the slope by jumping a stone wall or two and crossing private lots, fortunately without encountering dog, policeman, or irate owner to object. Once while strolling in the lower Palisade region of the Hudson I encountered a sign which read "no trespassing a-l-o-u-d." I have followed the suggestion ever since, and can recommend trespassing in silence as decidedly the more fruitful of the two methods. But to return to Eryx, the bare stretches of the mountain side which I had now reached were threaded by paths here and there, leading apparently by lines of least resistance to the goal which I wished to reach. But why should a man on foot and alone follow a beaten path in such a place as this? I made my own route, as nearly a straight line for the summit as was compatible with my desire to keep an open view of the sea and the Aegatian Islands. This did not take me past the church of the Madonna dell'Annunziata, the chief tourist attraction of Trapani according to the guide books, and I also passed too far to one side to cross the Piano dei Cappuccini, of which I had fine views, however, from different points above. In spite of the dry, hard, and stony character of the ground, dandelions, thistles, and other wild flowers lifted their bright blossoms into sight here and there, drawing from the Mediterranean breezes the bit of moisture necessary to keep life in their diminutive forms.

At one point, as I sprang upon a detached mass of limestone to get a better view, I heard a rustle in the dry weeds at one side, and first one, then another, and again a third, rabbit or hare (I am no zoölogist), scurried away to a more distant hiding-place, calling

my mind back to the "cotton-tails" of my boyhood days on the brier-clad hillsides of the Ohio Valley. Old Eryx has seen many a change in the dress, speech, and habits of the men and women who have climbed its slopes as the centuries have gone by, but the ancestors of these three timid little *conigli*, not different from them in any noticeable detail of appearance or habit, doubtless sat among the rocks and weeds on these very slopes and saw the Roman and Carthaginian galleys in deadly struggle more than twenty-one centuries ago, or ran and hid as Hamilcar's surrendered troops marched down to take passage back to Carthage, belittled by the trifling ransom which victorious Rome had thought it worth while to demand for their release. *Egli ha un core di coniglio*, "he has the heart of a rabbit," the Italian will say of one whom he holds in supreme contempt; but while one set of inhabitants after another have gained Mount Eryx only to lose it again, the timid little *conigli* have held their ground. It is the meek that inherit the earth after all. To the traveler whose mind is not too exclusively given to such objects as are catalogued in the guide books, these little things that by their comparatively unvarying identity connect the most distant times and places come with a peculiar welcome. I felt it when these little rabbits jumped up at my side. I felt it again when I caught the familiar scent of wild elder blossoms before I had seen the bushes on the slopes above Frascati. I felt it when I picked the little wild strawberries on the sides of Pilatus, or the huckleberries on the mountains overlooking Bellagio, or when I sat under the shadow of a great rock along the winding road which leads up from Palermo to the shrine of Santa Rosalia and watched the black ants carrying their plunder to their holes by their characteristically devious paths.

But I am straying too far from Eryx. The elevation of the mountain above the sea is about 2,500 feet, and the distance to its summit by the route I took was possibly not over three miles, so that I could afford to go slowly. The sun was getting well into the west, and stray clouds flecked with shadows a sea surface stirred by a moderately brisk wind from the southwest, the Africus of the Roman poets. The Aegatian Islands stood out clearly to the view, Maritimo, farthest of the three, towering almost as high as

Eryx itself, Levanzo almost in line with it in the nearer distance, and Favignana to the left. In a Naples picture-shop, two weeks later, I found that one of Brogi's photographers had caught just the view that I had witnessed, a triumph of sea and sky photography, and the copy which I brought home with me is one of the most effective memory stimulants of the entire trip.

While clambering over a mass of broken rock which hid the summit from me, I caught suddenly a faint whisper of bells, as if coming through the rock itself from some elfin cathedral in the mountain's heart. A few steps higher the sound grew louder and less vague, and again a few steps and it rang out full and clear as the campanile of the little cathedral at the summit came into sight. I do not know whether these bells have any fame, but I do know that they sounded peculiarly sweet to me that afternoon, and that I would willingly walk up the mountain side again if for no other reason than to hear them once more under the same conditions. After sitting down on the rock and writing a letter, I went on into the town. Tourists do not usually enter that way, and so I had the good fortune to wander over a good part of the quaint old town before anybody noticed that I was a tourist. Possibly still another advantage of traveling alone, for an impecunious school teacher of the male sex, is the tendency to drift into a condition of clothing not at all suggestive of the American millionaire and not declaring loudly your tourist classification. At any rate I escaped detection for the better part of an hour and was finally spotted by a bright boy only when I had reached the point where I could conveniently make use of his comparatively inexpensive services. For his credentials as guide he proudly produced a letter from a lady near Boston, to whom he had shown the sights of the town a year before. I have already said something of the view to the westward, over the Mediterranean and the Aegatian Islands. Southward, along the shore as far as to Marsala, stretched hundreds of acres of salt basins, which I had seen a few at a time from the windows of the train. Inland, the ripening wheat gave the prevailing color tone to the broad reaches of level plain or moderately elevated hills that characterize the western end of the island, south of the group of mountains of which Eryx is historically

the most distinguished member. The yellow of the wheat, however, was pleasantly broken by the rich green of many vineyards, loaded with grapes which were later to fill the wine cellars and swell the bank account of Signore Florio, who might seem to be usurping the functions of Bacchus in the thoughts of the modern Italian farmer.

As one turns from the south toward the east, the surface rises again, rapidly and more rapidly, until the eye finally catches the majestic summit of Sparagio, only about ten miles away, looming up into the evening sunlight 1,200 feet higher than the top of Eryx. The peak is not known to fame and I have met no one who has ascended it. The classically educated traveler ordinarily considers himself bound to see the theater and temple of Segesta, the ruins at Selinunte, Trapani, and the antiquities of Eryx, and then hurries eastward again, while the professional mountain climber scorns anything in Sicily short of Aetna itself. Still there is something to be said for mountain climbing in little, and the one certain addition to the itinerary of my second visit to Sicily, if *Fortuna Pauperum* has a second in store for me, is a climb to the top of Sparagio, which cannot fail to give an unparalleled view of all western Sicily, with Aetna, the Calabrian Mountains, smoky Stromboli, the Lipari Islands, Ustica, Pantellaria, and the nearest points of the African coast all within the possible range of view, if one should have the not wholly impossible favor of an absolutely clear atmosphere.

The crooked streets of the gray old town, with the distant views of which I have spoken, took up my time until the stomach began to call imperiously for its evening allowance. A man alone can afford to take chances, and I staked mine on an inconspicuous sign reading "*Albergo di Sicilia.*" Just where the building began and ended, in the labyrinth of weathered and rudely laid old stone walls, one could hardly tell. I dismissed my boy, with orders to report again at eight o'clock in the morning, and entered the door. A passageway led me to an open court, where two women, apparently mother and daughter, were completing the family washing by an old fig tree. One of them showed me to a room on the second floor, in which bedstead, chair, table, window fastenings, door latch, hinges, everything in fact but the toilet appliances was hand made. The window opened toward the east, with a view down

into the valley directly in front, Sparagio farther on, and a fine outlook over the sea, off toward Capo San Vito to the northeast. It was thus ordained that I must waken in time for the sunrise. I was soon called to the dining-room, where I found eggs, fruit, very hard-baked rolls, goat's milk, and coffee, with a young Frenchman as my only table companion, not inclined to be talkative where one side of the conversational exchange must perforce be either stumbling French or halting English. The evening I spent partly wandering about the streets, partly sitting on a stone bench in the modest little Giardino Municipale, gazing at the faint glimmer of the sea, or the black mass of Sparagio against the starlit sky, or letting my mind wander from one to another of the legends of the past connected with this gray old mountain.

But I must hasten on. The sky divinity furnished a faultless sunrise which I deeply enjoyed but cannot stop to describe, even if I had the mastery of color vocabulary necessary to do it justice. I made my visit to the ruins on the site of the ancient temple early in the morning, intentionally before the arrival of my young guide. A woman gnarled with age and toil let me into the inclosure. Her husband was lying apparently desperately ill in a little room to one side of the entrance, and she took the money I offered and let me go on to explore the ruins alone. Of the original temple nothing remains except a little of the substructure and a large cistern cut in the rock, which now goes by the name of "the well of Venus." Some have taken it to be the treasure chamber of the temple, but in the absence of any other receptacle for the purpose it seems safe to conclude that it was simply a storage cistern for water. The broken walls now inclosing the rocky pinnacle upon which the original temple stood are of far later structure. Here Astarte, Aphrodite, and Venus were worshiped in succession by Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans, with rites shocking enough to modern ideas of social and religious propriety, but perhaps no more in conflict with the moral possibilities of the age than some of the characteristic features of the various civilizations of today.

After leaving the ruins of the temple I went with my boy guide around the old defensive wall of the town. In its lower courses the masonry of the Phoenicians is easily identified, and some of the large, irregular blocks of stone bear Phoenician letters which are

possibly the initials of the individual stonecutters. In the middle of the forenoon, as I stood on this wall and looked down upon the sea toward the north, I was attracted by an isolated stretch of sandy beach, possibly two miles around the shore from Trapani. Out to sea the waves were foaming over a little reef which suggested the turning-point in the boat race described in the *Aeneid*. I was seized with a desire to make my way directly down to that beach, throw off my clothes, and take a plunge into the blue Mediterranean in the old-fashioned way of my Ohio River boyhood. Again, let me say, a man traveling all alone has some undeniable advantages. I asked little Giulio, my guide, whether I could get down over the side of the mountain in that direction, and his answer was favorable. I gave him a couple of lire for his services; he swung his cap and shouted, "Viva l'America," and I started, not even a goat path to guide me—nothing but a determination to find that beach and the water by the shortest feasible route. Stone fences I climbed over and hedges I found a hole through. I crossed several wheat fields, scarcely a yard of the ground without one or more poppy plants, in bright blossom, a little lower than the ripening heads of grain. Halfway down, on a level stretch of ground, I came to a stone house which looked as if it had several centuries of service to its credit. A rude stone wall surrounded the house and garden. I passed through the gate and found two women at work, who showed me their little vineyard at the rear, their olive trees, garden vegetables, and chickens, but my variety of Italian did not seem very intelligible to them or theirs to me.

From this point down I followed closely the dry bed of a ravine, gradually becoming a gorge, cut through the rock with steep and lofty sides. At last I came to an almost perpendicular drop of perhaps twenty feet. I stood and pondered for awhile. *Facilis descensus, sed retrol* I could slide over with no very great danger of a broken leg, but it would be impossible to climb back the same way, and I did not know what was farther down. But I was hot and tired, and loth to go back a half-mile or so to get out of the gorge and find a way around. So I dropped my handbag over, made the slide successfully, and a few minutes later found cow tracks in the bottom of the ravine, which relieved me of all anxiety. I could surely get out of any place that a cow could get into. I was soon at the

bottom, around a spur of the cliff to the east of the beach for which I was aiming. At the end of a concrete building near by a withered old woman was working over a washtub. I could not make her understand that I was parched with thirst, but she took me around to the front of the house, opened a door into an inner court, and motioned me to a door at the opposite side of this court, upon which I knocked. A middle-aged man in Franciscan robe came to the door and I told him my want in the best Italian at my command. He had no fresh water at hand, but brought out a flask of red wine, which is surely a mocker as an allayer of genuine thirst, as well as in other relations. I took a few sips, however, to get at least a momentary relief from the prickling dryness of my mouth and throat, and went on around the bend of the cliff. I was soon upon my sandy beach, but it was now swept by an offshore wind so strong that I was afraid to leave my clothes upon the sand for fear that they might take the air route for Naples ahead of my scheduled time for departure, and I be left, in the words of Livy, *nudus ad ictus insequentes*. The nearest shelter consisted of several diminutive sand dunes, two or three hundred feet back from the water. After careful inspection, to see that there was no wily Sicilian lurking close enough to beat me to my clothes and carry them off, or to rifle the pockets, in which my hope of getting back to America was contained, I appropriated the leeward side of one of the dunes as an apodyterium, ran across the sand with its wind-driven particles stinging me at every step, and had my first plunge into the Mediterranean. It was well worth the trouble, even including in that trouble the two-mile walk to Trapani which followed, facing a violent, lime-laden southwest wind all the way, with the midday sun beating in full force down upon me. At last I reached the railway station, too late to hunt a "ristorante" and relieve my now ravenous hunger, and a little later took my final view of old Eryx from the car window. It had not been the Trapani-Eryx trip outlined by Baedeker, not that which the readers of this sketch might choose for themselves, certainly not that which the feminine majority of them would find it possible to take even if it did suit their choice; but it remains one of the pleasantest memories of my vacation journey none the less.

FOURTH-YEAR LATIN

BY H. C. NUTTING
The University of California

A young Latin teacher once remarked that in the training course which she had taken many delightful ways of enlivening classroom work had been pointed out, but that in actual practice she was handicapped by the fact that it is almost impossible to find time in the recitation period for extras of any sort.

This difficulty should perhaps be felt least keenly in the fourth year, for the teacher then has to do with a select group of students who already have been thoroughly drilled in the elements of the language. Yet even here there seems to be considerable crowding, if one may judge from the complaints frequently heard.

Under these circumstances it may be well, from time to time, for teachers candidly to pass in review their own classroom procedure, with a view to determining whether the time expended on each phase of the work is yielding an adequate return. It might be found in some cases that a shift of emphasis would add to the effectiveness of the teaching.

It may be assumed at the outset that in most schools teachers have broken away from the ancient and deadly tradition that condemned the pupil to a weary daily round of "parsing" Vergil's immortal words. But how about "reading the verse"? Is that department of the work usually conducted in such a way as to yield anything like a full return for the amount of time expended upon it?

Many will remember the good(?) old days when the colleges had but to announce a requirement, and the schools did not even pause to question why. As for the student, it was his merely to do or die. He had to "scan" in order to pass the college-entrance examinations; and so he learned to chop lines up into six pieces, with about as much aesthetic appreciation as that which enters into the work of a boy who is set to saw a log up into lengths.

At this point let there be no misunderstanding. We must all recognize the truth of the contention that the verse is an essential part of a poem and that the full beauty of the lines can be brought out only through an accurate, intelligent, and appreciative vocal rendition. These facts are so patent that they hardly need to be mentioned. But several practical questions ought to be faced frankly: (1) In the average class does practice in scanning add to the appreciation of Vergil to a degree sufficient to justify setting aside a considerable fraction of each recitation period for this exercise? (2) If not, can methods of handling scansion be so improved as to make this part of the work yield a cultural return commensurate with the amount of time now expended upon it? (3) In cases where the teacher despairs of such an issue, ought not the major part of the time now spent in scanning to be devoted to something else?

The third of these questions suggests still another, namely, whether the benefits of reading the verse could not be brought home to many pupils far more effectively by *hearing the teacher read* various carefully selected and prepared passages than by stumbling along themselves in a frantic attempt to identify longs and shorts? With such a program, much of the time now devoted to scanning could with good conscience be expended upon other things.

Without stopping to attempt an answer to all these questions, and assuming that some teachers at least may be able to find time, either in this way or otherwise, for a new experiment in connection with the study of Vergil, we should all agree that the supreme demand in the fourth year is to increase the cultural value of the work. We cannot but admit that we have fallen short in this matter and that there is far too much truth for comfort in the strictures of our critics, who arraign the high-school Latin course as barren of literary culture.

These strictures of course are extreme and, to that extent, unjust; for we are asked to reach, through three or four years of Latin, a goal that once marked the end of a six- or eight-year course in Latin and Greek. But this criticism may be of service in reminding us sharply of the limitations under which we work. Of a hundred

students who begin the study of Latin, perhaps not more than four carry on the subject into college. If, then, the literary culture that may be derived from the study of Latin is to be brought within the reach of any but a very small proportion of our students, it must be done in the high-school course. And it is not likely to be done if a wonderful work like the sixth book of the *Aeneid* is garnished merely with parsing exercises and an elaborate study of longs and shorts.

This paper is not addressed to the hireling teacher, but to those who love the work and are willing to spend and to be spent therein. To instil literary appreciation, the teacher himself must have learned appreciation, and he must work intelligently toward the end in view. The teacher's equipment may be increased by reading and study along various lines, but his chief reliance should be a first-hand acquaintance with Latin literature itself. It is the purpose of this article to illustrate in a concrete way how such acquaintance may be utilized to add cultural value to the classroom work.

The teacher who would increase his acquaintance with the literature will usually find, first of all, that his class text contains much material that is not used by the students. Copious and representative selections from Ovid, also, are available in school editions. And good texts of Horace, Catullus, Plautus, and other writers are easily obtained. On such material let the teacher of Vergil spend his leisure moments; he will find that he is everywhere stumbling upon material wherewith to enrich the daily work—material which he can carry into class with all the enthusiasm and inspiration of personal discovery.

The students will thus come to see that there is a great Latin literature outside the narrow range of their reading. Interest and curiosity will be stimulated, and their sense of literary appreciation will be developed. And there are other incidental advantages. For example, one Latin passage often furnishes the best exegesis of another Latin passage; and, if the parallel chances to employ a vocabulary somewhat similar to the original, the conditions for practice in reading at sight are almost ideal. The following examples will illustrate the sort of material available, and how it

may be used.¹ In each case the passage from the *Aeneid* is first cited, then a parallel or explanatory passage.

(1) i. 203:

forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.

The thought underlying this line has become something of a commonplace. Whittier expresses it beautifully in his little poem, "My Psalm":

That care and trial seem at last,
Through Memory's sunset air,
Like mountain ranges overpast,
In purple distance fair.

Vergil was not the first to express the idea. For example, Cicero gives the following translation of a verse of Euripides in *de Finibus* ii. 32. 105:

Suavis laborum est praeteritorum memoria.

(2) i. 207:

Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis.

With this word of encouragement may be associated two pithy sayings of Plautus found in *Pseudolus* 452 and *Poenulus* 974:

Bonus animus in mala re dimidiumst mali.
Incipere multost quam inpetrare facilius.

(3) i. 300 ff.:

Volat ille per aera magnum
Remigio alarum.

In regard to flying, Plautus makes a sententious remark in *Poenulus* 871:

Sine pennis volare hau² facilest.

(4) i. 344:

magno miserae dilectus amore.

¹ Some further suggestions of a somewhat similar nature may be found in *A Sight Book in Latin*, by E. D. Daniels (Sanborn).

² I.e., *haud*.

According to *Palutus*, a very natural situation; for he says in *Stichus* 133:

Suos¹ rex reginae placet.

(5) i. 390 ff.:

Namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam
Nuntio et in tutum versis Aquilonibus actam,
Ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.

On significant happenings, Plautus expresses himself as follows in *Trinummus* 1004:

Numquam edepol temere tinnit tintinnabulum.

(6) i. 539 ff.:

Quod genus hoc hominum? Quaeve hunc tam barbara morem
permittit patria? Hospitio prohibemur harenae.

In verses 563-64 Dido offers an apology for the unfriendly treatment here complained of. Plautus cites a working rule in *Trinummus* 679:

Datur ignis, tametsi ab inimico petas.

(7) i. 572 ff.:

Voltis et his mecum pariter considerare regnis?
Urbem quam statuo vestra est; subducite naves;
Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

Aeneas voices his appreciation of this very generous offer in verses 597 ff.; and in *Epidicus* 112 ff. Plautus has a trenchant word to say regarding theoretical and practical generosity:

Nil agit qui diffidentem verbis solatur suis.
Is est amicus, qui in re dubia re iuvat.²

(8) i. 742 ff.:

Hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,
unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes, etc.

Ancient philosophy falls into three divisions: (1) physical science, (2) logic, and (3) ethics. The earliest philosophers were specially

¹ The early form of the nominative singular.

² In connection with i. 683 ff., see the *Classical Weekly*, X, No. 17 (February 26, 1917), 136, where are published some very creditable high-school hexameters that utilize a familiar vocabulary.

interested in the first of these divisions, and the song of Iopas was manifestly a philosophical disquisition in verse. Cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* V. 24. 69:

Inde est indagatio nata initiorum unde essent omnia orta quaeque cuiusque generis vel inanimi vel animantis vel muti vel loquentis origo, quae vita, qui interitus unde terra quibus cavernis maria sustineantur, qua omnia delata gravitate medium mundi locum semper expetant.

Note further that in referring to the moon Iopas attaches the epithet *errantem*. The ancients were acquainted with five of the planets, namely, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn; and they were quick to classify these, along with the sun and moon, as in a group separate from the fixed stars. Our English word "planet," derived directly from the Greek, signifies "wanderer," so that the Latin phrase *errantia* (*sidera*) is merely a translation of the Greek word. The distinction between the fixed stars and the seven "wanderers" is clearly marked in the *Tusculan Disputations* V. 24. 69:

Sideraque viderit innumerabilia caelo inhaerentia cum eius ipsius motu congruere certis infixa sedibus, septem alia suos quaeque tenere cursus.

Though somewhat puzzled to explain the apparent movements of the "wanderers," the ancients yet saw that their movements were controlled by some definite law. Thus Cicero says, *ibid.* i. 25. 62:

Astra suspeximus, cum ea, quae sunt infixa certis locis, tum illa non re sed vocabulo errantia.

(9) ii. 87:

Pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis.

The word *pauper* has a rather elastic signification, and it needs to be contrasted rather sharply with such terms as *egens* and *inops*. Probably *pauper* could be stretched to cover the state of the fortunate man described by Horace in *Carmina* iii. 16. 43 ff.:

Bene est cui deus obtulit
Parca quod satis est manu.

(10) ii. 99:

et quaerere conscius arma.

Of the man who carries a load of conscious guilt, Plautus has this to say in *Mostellaria* 544:

Nil est miserius quam animus hominis conscius.

(11) ii. 268 ff.:

Tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
Incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit.

With this should be compared Ovid's beautiful apostrophe to Sleep, *Metamorphoses* XI. 623 ff.:

Somne, quies rerum, placidissime, Somne, deorum,
Pax animi, quem cura fugit, qui corpora duris
Fessa ministeriis mulces reparasque labori.

(12) ii. 322:

Quo res summa loco, Panthu? Quam prendimus arcem?

Of the distressful situation that arises from lack of preparedness, Plautus offers a proverb in *Mostellaria* 379 ff.:

Miserumst opus,
Igitur¹ demum fodere puteum, ubi sitis faucis tenet.

(13) ii. 535 ff.:

"At tibi pro scelere," exclamat, "pro talibus ausis
Di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet,
Persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant
Debita."

Tradition has it that this wish was later fulfilled, in that Pyrrhus was himself slain at an altar—that of Apollo at Delphi. This event bears out the remark of Horace, *Carmina* iii. 2. 31 ff.:

Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede Poena claudo.

(14) ii. 541 ff.:

sed iura fidemque
Supplicis erubuit corpusque exsanguie supulchro
Reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit.

Priam finds a grateful contrast to the barbarity of Pyrrhus in the courtesy of Achilles. Probably even the latter, however, would

¹ Here used in the early temporal sense.

hardly have indorsed the sentiment expressed by Cicero in *Tusculan Disputations* V. 19. 56:

Accipere quam facere praestat iniuriam.

(15) ii. 557 ff.:

Iacet ingens litore truncus
avolsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.

This forlorn description reminds of the very different plight of the heroes who fell at Thermopylae, whose good fortune it was to be immortalized by Simonides' famous epitaph, which Cicero thus translates in *Tusculan Disputations* I. 42. 101:

Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentis,
Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

(16) ii. 594:

Nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?

For people who fall into such states of passion as here referred to, Plautus has a wise word of caution in *Bacchides* 408:

Leniter qui saeviunt, sapiunt magis.

(17) ii. 629:

Et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat.

This simile of the falling monarch of the forest suggests some words of Horace, which he uses in a very different connection to teach the security of lowly station and the danger of climbing too high. See *Carmina* ii. 10. 9 ff.:

Saepius ventis agitur ingens
Pinus et celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres feriuntque summos
Fulgura monts.

(18) iv. 132:

Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.

In English we speak of "leading a horse to water, but not being able to make him drink." The Latin proverb has to do with taking unwilling dogs to the hunt. Cf. Plautus, *Stichus* 139:

Venatum ducere invitas canes.

(19) iv. 189:

Haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat.

Of a person who has become a subject of town talk, Plautus has this to say in *Pseudolus* 418:

Per urbem solus sermoni omnibust.

(20) iv. 235 ff.:

Aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur
Nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?

At this point in the action the recreant Aeneas was in need of the prudent counsel of Plautus, *Mercator* 376:

Rei mandatae omnis sapientis primum praevorti decet.

(21) iv. 372:

Nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.

Ovid is more optimistic in *Metamorphoses* XIII. 70:

Aspiciunt oculis superi mortalia iustis.

(22) iv. 569 ff.:

Heia age, rumpe moras! Varium et mutabile semper
Femina.

The general fact of the peril of delay is pointed out by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* XI. 376:

Mora damnosa est.

(23) v. 282:

Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat.

A reward for the last in the race recalls Ovid's pithy remark in *Metamorphoses* IX. 5 ff.:

Nec tam
Turpe fuit vinci, quam contendisse decorum est.

Cf. also the English "Tis better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all."

(24) vi. 127:

Noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis.

Ovid has a like somber reflection in *Metamorphoses* X. 32 ff.

Omnia debentur vobis,¹ paulumque morati
Serius aut citius sedem properamus ad unam.

(25) vi. 310:

Lapsa cadunt folia.

In a very different connection, speaking of the peril of remaining in a dangerous locality, Plautus says, *Menaechmi* 375 ff.:

Folia nunc cadunt,
Praeut si triduom hoc hic erimus; tum arbores in te cadent.

(26) vi. 431:

Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes.

Of the impartial rating of the tribunal of the world below, Plautus remarks in *Trinummus* 493 ff.:

Aequo mendicus atque ille opulentissimus
Censetur censu ad Acheruntem mortuos.²

(27) vi. 436 ff.:

Quam vellent aethere in alto
Nunc et pauperiem et duos perferre labores!

The general principle here underlying is summed up by Plautus as follows in *Captivi* 142 ff.:

Tum denique homines nostra intellegimus bona,
Quom quae in potestate habuimus, ea amisimus.

(28) vi. 663:

Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artis.

The early unknown benefactors of the race receive a tribute of praise from Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations*, I. 25. 62:

Omnes magni, etiam superiores, qui fruges, qui vestitum, qui tecta, qui cultum vitae, qui praesidia contra feras invenerunt.

These illustrations may serve to show what an interesting field of supplementary material lies within the reach of the teacher who is willing to spend time in investigating it. To bring into class materials that others have provided is good; it is positively inspiring to discover them for one's self. Try it!

¹ I.e., the gods of the lower world.

² Again the early form of the nominative singular.

THE ENRICHMENT OF THE HIGH-SCHOOL LATIN COURSE¹

BY MYRA H. HANSON
Scott High School, Toledo, Ohio

My paper will necessarily be of a very personal nature as I am to tell of the actual course of study as it has been developed at Scott High School, Toledo, Ohio, during the past two years. Within the last decade I have visited many Latin classes—in Boston, New York, Richmond, Baltimore, Washington, Buffalo, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other cities—and have found everywhere the stereotyped work in translation: a year of Caesar, a year of Cicero, a year of Virgil; syntax and translation, translation and syntax, almost without variation; occasionally a little reading of the Latin, almost never sight reading, sometimes a derivative. Now and then the vivacity and energy of the teacher have made the recitation interesting, but often it has seemed to me unutterably dull. I have wondered how students are persuaded to elect a four years' course in mere translation when translations may be had so cheaply and read so easily. In spite of Miss Sabin's success in showing the relation between Latin and practical life, Mr. Perkins' success with English derivatives, and Dr. Gray's work along both lines, many Latin classes are taught very much as they were twenty years ago. I believe that we are missing a great opportunity to make the Latin course the most varied, the most useful, the most interesting course in high school.

Without further introduction or apology I wish to tell in detail exactly what our students have done in the last two years. I will outline, first, the Latin text covered in prepared and sight reading; secondly, the systematic word-study; thirdly, the weekly lesson in supplementary reading; and lastly, the programs.

¹ Read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

The Freshmen for the first time this spring are reading the "Story of Ulysses" from *Fabulae Faciles* twice a week during the last two months of the year; this means that the beginners' book (D'Ooge) will be used at least two days per week in the first part of the Sophomore year. This prolonging of the period of infancy is advocated by many teachers and will be recommended by the New York Board of Regents in its syllabus next September. For sight reading the first year we use the *New Gradatim*.

In the Sophomore year *Second Year Latin*¹ is our textbook, with its delightful collection of fables, bits of Roman history, the story of Cyrus the Great, several of Pliny's letters, a few simple bits of poetry from Horace, Catullus, and Ovid, and several Lives from *Viri Romae* and Nepos. The main difficulty here is the vocabulary, and we meet this by printed vocabulary cards, which are hung up in advance and left up for a week, so that daily oral drill can be given on the words of the advance lessons as well as daily review in preparation for a written vocabulary test once a week. We read Caesar only the latter half of the second year and find the selections given in *Second Year Latin*, ranging from Books I to VII, full of human interest with comparatively few of the horrendous passages of indirect discourse that have been the Waterloo of so many students. The lessons are almost a page in length from the start—sufficient material to make the student feel that he is really reading history. We cover as much ground in one semester as we used to do in two and have reduced the number of failures to zero. We use Caesar for sight reading also, and I believe that I do not exaggerate when I say that we read him with breathless interest.

In Junior Latin we begin with the *Manilian Law*, following this with the third Catilinarian oration. I have long felt an aversion to spending half the year on the Catilinarian conspiracy, acquiring all the words for crime and profligacy that the Latin language boasts. I consider it our greatest achievement to have departed from the stereotyped third-year course. During this semester our sight reading is from Sallust.

The second semester, after *Pro Marcello*, we read about 1,500 verses of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ending the year with *Pro Archia*,

¹ *Second Year Latin*. Ginn & Co.

much too technical for high-school students, but *sic volvere Parcas*. Our sight reading during this semester is from Cicero's letters, *Pro Roscio, In Verrem*, as given in Barss, *Third Year Latin—For Sight Reading*.¹ I confess that I appreciate somewhat the feelings of the classically trained Englishman quoted in a recent number of the *Classical Weekly* to the effect that in his eight years of Latin he had managed to "escape that arch-bore Cicero." With due regard for the army of teachers who consider Cicero's orations the cream of the Latin course, I submit the suggestion that they are too remote from the modern high-school student's interest to be easily vitalized.

The Senior year is sacred to Virgil, of course, but, with twelve books from which to choose, the course may maintain its interest without difficulty. We usually substitute Dr. Miller's suggested readings from Books VII–XII for the fifth *Aeneid*. Our sight reading is more Virgil, some Ovid, and selections from *De senectute* as given in Barss.

I need say no more of the weekly prose lesson than that we use Barss's *Writing Latin—Book I* through the second year and thus acquire our Caesar vocabulary before we need it; we use Bradley's Arnold² in the two remaining years, a book in which the sentences are somewhat difficult, but easier ones may well be substituted at the discretion of the teacher and thus varied from year to year; the unusual excellence of the rest of the material is more than compensation for all difficulties.

My next topic is word-study—definite, systematic word-study three days per week during the four years. In vocabulary notebooks which are examined by the teacher once a week the Freshmen keep complete lists of derivatives from one hundred Latin verbs, taking them as they appear in the Freshman special vocabularies. The most helpful book for the teacher in this connection is Bailey's *Etymology*.³

The Sophomores master eighty groups of Latin cognates as given in *Second Year Latin*, and thus learn early to distinguish at a glance between the compounds of *cado*, *caedo*, and *cedo*. Juniors

¹ Barss, *Third Year Latin—For Sight Reading*. American Book Co.

² Bradley, Arnold, *Latin Prose Composition*. Macmillan.

³ Bailey, *Etymology*. American Book Co.

study prefixes the first semester and synonyms the second, using for the latter the lists given in D'Ooge's *Cicero*. The Seniors study suffixes and word analysis, using Jenks's *Latin Word Formation*.¹ In every class we talk over the vocabulary of the next reading-lesson, giving English derivatives wherever possible. Experience confirms my belief that vocabulary is the royal road to Latin. The same method with respect to new words is employed in sight reading, to which we devote regularly ten minutes a day. The teacher reads the Latin of a phrase or clause before the student translates it rather than of an entire sentence. Sight reading loses its terrors when attacked in small quantities, and the student is thus trained to phrase correctly and to master the thought in the Latin order.

Our weekly lesson in what I call supplementary reading consists in the Freshman year of mythology.² We have outlined the year's work as follows: the twelve great gods and the muses for the first semester; the greater heroes, the monsters, the Seven against Thebes, and the Trojan War for the second. Roman History through the Julio-Claudian dynasty is our supplementary work in the second year, with the emphasis placed upon the great men of Rome, a subject appealing strongly to the Sophomore boy. We use Creighton's *Primer*.³

In the Junior year we study Roman antiquities, using Wilkins' *Primer*.⁴ In studying the Roman house each student draws the plan of a model house or constructs one of cardboard or of wood. We have Pompeian slides to supplement this work. In studying the Forum each student draws a plan of the Forum in Cicero's time. We find *Roman Antiquities* with its closing chapter on "The Roman's Religion" our most interesting supplementary work. The last five weeks of the year the Juniors substitute Wilkins' *Literature Primer*⁵ for the *Antiquities*, taking up "Early Literary Remains" as an introductory lesson, then Ennius, Cato, Plautus, and Terence.

¹ Jenks, *Latin Word Formation*. D. C. Heath & Co.

² Bulfinch, *Age of Fable*. (Everyman edition.)

³ Creighton, *Roman History Primer*. American Book Co.

⁴ Wilkins, *Roman Antiquities Primer*. American Book Co.

⁵ Wilkins, *Roman Literature Primer*. Macmillan.

Ennius and Cato are thus subjects of study about the time they are referred to in *Pro Archia*.

This clears the field for the Golden Age in the Senior year. The first semester we study Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Lucretius, and Catullus; the second semester, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy. This may sound rather ambitious, and there may be those who scoff at such superficiality, but our present students, at least, will not make the remark of one of my earlier students—that she did not know the Romans had a literature until she reached college! College professors frequently complain that our students do not elect Latin. These brief literature lessons give ample opportunity to call attention to the Latin courses offered to college Freshmen. I say many times a year, "Let no one who has enjoyed Virgil drop Latin until he has read Horace." Perhaps the time spent on literature in high school needs no other justification than that it calls attention to college Latin. Then, too, the knowledge of Latin literature that is gained by the teacher in preparing to teach the subject may not come amiss.

My last reference is to the programs held instead of the regular recitation and suggested by the "auditorium hour" in the Gary day. I plan only one program for the Freshmen—for St. Valentine's Day, when we tell the famous love stories from mythology and recite translations of Latin love lyrics. The Sophomores have two programs—the "Legends of the Seven Early Kings" forming one, the other being a Caesar program on the ides of March, for which there is such a wealth of interesting material. The Juniors likewise have two during the year—a Cicero program on January 3 and an Ovid program in the spring, with the Pyramus and Thisbe scenes from *Midsummer-Night's Dream*.

The regular monthly programs are the exclusive privilege of the Senior class, whose members consider themselves a Latin society on such occasions, with a consul presiding. My aim has been to make them as far as possible supplementary to the weekly literature lesson, but often the occasion suggests the topic. On the ides of October a Virgil program with Virgil slides—or, as a delightful substitute this year, an illustrated lecture on Sicily by Professor Lord, of Oberlin College, to which all lovers of the classics in our city were

invited. In November our subject is "Roman Superstition," while in December we of course have a Saturnalian program. In January we combine very satisfactorily the Roman calendar and Catullus; in February we commemorate the Roman Parēntalia by a most illuminating program on Roman burial customs, belief in immortality, inscriptions on tombs, ancient burial places, etc. A Roman banquet is held on the Liberalia in March in honor of the boy whose seventeenth birthday has just been passed, the first act from Schlicher's play *Tirones* (showing the assumption of the *toga virilis*) having been given earlier in the day. On April 21 we celebrate the founding of Rome. A Horace program and one on Roman humor complete the year.

This ends our enriched Latin course, which is not a theory, but has crystallized from actual doing. It led one Junior girl to say with evident sincerity, "I think Latin offers more than any other course in high school." I agree with her. Don't you?

THE CONSPIRACY OF ORGETORIX— A DRAMATIZATION

BY BRITA L. HORNER
Weehawken, New Jersey

One of the most successful means of arousing interest this year has been the dramatization of the story of Orgetorix in Book I of the *Gallic Wars*. A class which had found much pleasure in first-year Latin seemed to be entirely lacking in enthusiasm for their second-year work. They read Book II of the *Gallic Wars* with but little interest, even though frequent comparisons were made with the great world-war of today. It seemed necessary to do something to arouse them from this state of indifference. Dramatization therefore was tried, and the results were exceedingly gratifying.

The first readings were given as the chapters were translated. Then a regular cast was chosen, and the whole play (four scenes) was presented before another section, which had just completed the same work in Caesar. The performance was such a success that it was repeated before the entire school. No costumes were attempted except swords, shields, and spears for the soldiers. These, however, appealed greatly to the audience.

Since the dramatization the reading of Caesar has been an entirely different thing for the particular class which gave the play. Caesar's *Commentaries* have a real meaning for them now, and they no longer translate mere words. Other classes also were benefited and an increase of interest and enthusiasm for Latin has been felt throughout the school.

INTRODUCTORY SYNOPSIS

(Read before audience, part of whom had not studied Latin.)

Caesar tells us that a short time before his arrival in Gaul the Helvetians who lived in the land which is now Switzerland had become discontented with their narrow limits. An ambitious young noble, Orgetorix by name,

conceived the idea of emigrating to other territory and formed a plot to overthrow the regular government in order to carry out his idea. News of his scheme, however, reached the ears of the rulers of the state, and he was summoned to appear for a trial. By means of a trick, the bringing of a huge mob of his friends and followers to court with him, he prevented the regular legal procedure and escaped from pleading his case. He probably realized, however, that his cause was a hopeless one, as he was shortly afterward found dead, and the general opinion seemed to be that he had committed suicide.

(Read before various scenes.)

1. In our play the first scene represents Orgetorix persuading three other Helvetians to enter into his conspiracy. He describes the way in which they are hemmed in on all sides and urges them to emigrate.

2. In the second scene the three Helvetians discuss their preparations for the departure. They decide to buy up animals and carts, to sow as much grain as possible, and to emigrate on the third year.

3. In the third scene Orgetorix persuades Casticus and Dumnorix, nobles of neighboring states, to join his conspiracy. These three young nobles hope to gain control of all of Gaul.

4. The fourth scene represents the trial of Orgetorix and his escape through the aid of a great crowd of clients, debtors, and friends.

The subsequent announcement of his sudden death brings an end to the conspiracy.

CONIURATIO ORGETORIGIS

SCAENA PRIMA

(Enter Orgetorix and three Helvetians.)

Orgetorix: Orgetorix sum, nobilissimus et ditissimus Helvetiorum.

Helvetius (1): Helvetii sumus, nobilitas Helvetiorum.

Orgetorix: Audite, O Helvetii, O nobiles Helvetii! Pro multitudine hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos finis habemus.

Helvetius (2): Verum est, angustos finis habemus.

Orgetorix: Undique loci natura Helvetii continentur, una ex parte flumine Rheno, latissimo atque altissimo; altera ex parte monte Iura, altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia, lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam Romanam ab Helvetiis dividit. Undique, undique Helvetii continentur.

Helvetius (3): Verum est, undique continemur. Ita continemur ut minus late vagemur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possimus.

Orgetorix: Qua ex parte, O Helvetii, ego, vir bellandi cupidus, magno dolore adficio. Ego cupio ut de finibus nostris exeamus.

Helvetius (2): Bene dixisti, Orgetorix. De finibus nostris exeamus.

Helvetius (1 and 3): Exeamus! exeamus!

Orgetorix: Virtute, O nobiles, nos omnibus praestamus. Igitur perfacile est totius Galliae imperio potiri.

Helvetius: Bene! bene! Orgetorix dixit bene. Imperio totius Galliae potiemur. De finibus nostris exeamus.

Omnes: Exeamus!

(*Exeunt omnes.*)

SCAENA SECUNDA

(*Enter the three Helvetians.*)

Helvetius (2): Orgetorix bene dixit. Vir fortissimus est.

Helvetius (3): Orgetorix quoque sapientissimus est; verum est, angustos finis habemus.

Helvetius (1): Potentissimus est Orgetorix. Auctoritas eius est maxima.

Helvetius (3): Orgetorix dixit oportere ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent comparare.

Helvetius (2): Ego iumentorum et carrorum quam³ maximum numerum coemi.

Helvetius (1): Ego quoque.

Helvetius (2): Sementis quam maximas servi mei faciunt.

Helvetius (1 and 3): Nostri servi quoque.

Helvetius (1): Quo tempore proficiscemur?

Helvetius (3): Ad eas res conficiendas biennium satis est.

Helvetius (1): Bene dixisti. Biennium satis est. In tertium annum profectionem lege confirmemus.

Helvetius (2): Ubi est Orgetorix?

Helvetius (1): Necesse est cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Orgetorix sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit.

Helvetius (2): Bene factum est. Nos quoque laboremus ut omnia quae ad proficiscendum pertineant comparemus.

Helvetius (2): Bene dixisti. Laboremus!

Omnes: Laboremus! Laboremus!

(*Exeunt omnes.*)

SCAENA TERTIA

(*Enter Casticus.*)

Casticus: Casticus sum, Catamantaloedis filius, Sequanus.

(*Enter Orgetorix.*)

Orgetorix: Salve! O Castice!

Casticus: Salve Orgetorix, nobilissimus Helvetiorum.

Orgetorix: Tu quoque nobilis es, O Castice, pater tuus regnum in Sequanos multos annos obtinuit; pater tuus a senatu populi Romani amicus appellatus est.

Casticus: Omnia haec scio, Orgetorix.

Orgetorix: Cur tu in civitate tua regnum non occupavisti?

Casticus: Regnum in mea civitate occupare difficile est, Orgetorix.

Orgetorix: Non difficile est—est perfacile factu. Ego meae civitatis imperium obtenturus sum. Ego meis copiis meoque exercitu tibi regnum in tua civitate conciliabo.

(*Enter Dumnorix.*)

Dumnorix: Salve! O Castice!

Casticus: Salve! O Dumnorix!

Orgetorix: Quis advenit?

Casticus: Est Dumnorix, Haeduus, frater Diviaci.

Orgetorix: Salve! O Dumnorix!

Dumnorix: Salve Orgetorix!

Orgetorix: Nonne tu in civitate tua principatum obtines, O Dumnorix?

Dumnorix: Verum est principatum obtineo sed non regnum.

Orgetorix: Cur non regnum occupavisti?

Dumnorix: Regnum in mea civitate occupare difficile est. Frater meus, Diviacus potentissimus est.

Orgetorix: Non difficile est. Tu maxime plebi acceptus es. Ego et Casticus regna in civitatibus nostris occupabimus et nos regnum tibi conciliabimus. Praeterea, Dumnorix, filiam habeo—filiam pulcherrimam. Si te nobiscum coniunges, tibi filiam meam in matrimonium dabo. Advenit filia mea.

(*Enter Filia.*)

Dumnorix: Pulcherrima est. Visne mecum ire, O puella?

Filia: Quod pater vult, ego volo.

Dumnorix: Bene est. Filiam tuam in matrimonium ducam et me vobiscum coniungam.

Orgetorix: Bene! Bene! Fidem et ius iurandum inter nos demus.

Omnes: Ius iurandum demus.

(*Exeunt omnes.*)

SCAENA QUARTA

(*Enter Magistratus, with two soldiers and a messenger. Magistratus stands in front of his chair of office, the soldiers stand in position, one on each side of the chair, and the messenger at a little distance.*)

Magistratus: Magistratus Helvetiorum sum. Hi sunt milites. Ille est nuntius.

(*Magistratus seats himself. Enter Index, makes obeisance.*)

Index: Salve, O magistratus! Aliquid tibi dicere volo.

Magistratus: Quid est?

Index: Orgetorix, nobilissimus et ditissimus Helvetiorum coniurationem fecit.

Magistratus: Orgetorix coniurationem fecit?

Index: Verum est, Orgetorix coniurationem fecit.

(Exit Index.)

Magistratus: Propera, O nuntie, et Orgetorigem ad iudicium venire iube.

(Exit Nuntius.)

Magistratus: Moribus nostris Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere cogemus. Si Orgetorix damnatus erit oportebit ut igni cremetur.

(Enter Nuntius.)

Nuntius: Orgetorix venit.

(Enter Orgetorix, with his mob of clients, debtors, friends, etc. The crowd shouts:

"Orgetorix bonus est. Non coniurationem fecit. Non malus est.

Bonus est Orgetorix," etc. Orgetorix slips out.)

Magistratus: Discedite, discedite omnes.

(The crowd departs still shouting.)

Magistratus: Non possumus iudicium habere. Orgetorix ne causam diceret se eripuit. Nunc, O milites, exite et multitudinem hominum ex agris convocate. Ius civitatis armis exsequendum est.

(Exeunt milites. Enter Index excitedly.)

Index: Salve, O magistratus! Aliquid tibi dicere volo. Orgetorix mortuus est.

Magistratus: Estne verum?

Index: Verum est. Orgetorix mortuus est, et Helvetii arbitrantur eum sibi mortem conscivisse.

(Exit Index.)

Magistratus: O miserum Orgetorigem. . . . Finis est coniurationis.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

MR. MAURY ON ACHAIAN GREECE

Professor Scott has invited me to comment on Mr. Maury's article in the *Classical Journal* for April, 1917, "The Leaf-Ramsay Theory of the Trojan War"; and I accept the invitation with pleasure, the more because Mr. Maury writes from that full acquaintance with Homer and with that fairness of tone which are the best guaranty of profit from discussion. No one can be more willing than I to recognize the disputable nature of the ground on which we have to speculate when we come to deal with the remote and mysterious Homeric age; and I welcome criticism such as Mr. Maury's as far more likely to advance knowledge than any unquestioning acceptance of the newest theory of the moment. In what I have to say I shall try to confine myself briefly to certain fundamental assumptions in which I differ wholly from Mr. Maury.

Let us begin, then, with Mr. Maury's denial that there was in Homeric Greece any "typical economical pressure," leading him to the conclusion that there was no desire for expansion. By "typical" he seems to mean pressure arising from poverty. My own view, which I have expressed at some length in *Homer and History*, pp. 288 ff., is very different. The economic pressure which leads to the impulse for expansion is, in my view, an overflow of vitality, a desire for betterment, which requires as its base prosperity at home. This may seem a paradox, but can be abundantly proved from history. All the praise that Homer bestows on Greece, which Mr. Maury sketches on p. 460, can be paralleled and indeed outdone by what Shakespeare says of "this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England." Would Mr. Maury conclude that we are mistaken in thinking that in Shakespeare's age Drake was leading the fight for the capture of the trade to the Spanish realm in America, that Raleigh was founding Virginia, and Chancellor opening up Russia and founding Archangel? Possibly Mr. Maury has not read what I have said in *Homer and History*, so I may perhaps venture to ask him to reconsider this point.

Another assumption which Mr. Maury seems tacitly to make, but which I must traverse, is that commercial expansion is synonymous with overseas colonization. He says that there was no commerce on the Black Sea until long after the Homeric age, because there is no evidence of the founding of colonies there until the eighth century (p. 462). I should be inclined to reverse the argument, and to say that the existence of Greek colonies there in the eighth century was presumptive evidence of a long period of commerce to prepare the way. Think of the extent of nearer lands which the Greeks had to fill up with colonies before they could think of going so far afield! When the

veil begins to lift in the ninth and eighth centuries, we find not only Lesbos, Miletos, and all the western coast of Asia Minor full of Greek colonies, but Sicily and southern Italy rapidly passing into their hands; Cumae, according to the chronographers, was founded about 1050 B.C., though of course one takes such statements with all reserve. It was not until these colonies had had time to overflow in their turn that the remote regions of the Euxine could be sown with Greek cities. But this does not exclude—on the contrary, it implies—a long period of active commerce. The process, as I take it, was a very gradual one; first, visits by particularly daring adventurers in casual voyages, bartering goods with the natives wherever it was found that a landing could be safely made; then the slow organization of trade by the foundation here and there of “factories,” isolated trading posts where the inhabitants were friendly, or at least tolerant; and only as the pressure of population grew at home would these be developed into permanent settlements, and the women and children established in them. I see no reason why these processes should not have covered several centuries. Nor should I for a moment expect that such prosaic and almost imperceptible stages should find mention in “the great dramatic and lyric poets of Greece in their known works” (p. 465). The poets had plenty of material at hand, more useful because more exciting, and played out under the eyes of those for whom they wrote. I do not think that we could find out from them much about the original colonization of Magna Graecia.

Mr. Maury says that “the Homeric Greeks are not hardy sailors generally” (p. 461). Should not the epithet rather be “foolhardy”? They were not conditioned by physical circumstances; all that he says about their ships is true and is universally recognized. But it is, at least in the greatest measure, true not only of Homeric Greeks, but of Greeks in all the historic period. Mr. Maury thinks that the hesitation of some of them to risk the direct passage from Chios to Euboea (p. 168) is a sign that they were cowardly or incapable mariners. Let us remember that, according to the tradition, Troy was taken ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύνειν,¹ at the end of October, that is, when the winter storms might set in at any moment. And then let us compare their anxieties and fortunes with those of a far more famous voyage which took place about the middle of the first century A.D., many hundreds of years later, and see the risks which had to be faced.

“A ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy” found itself, in or about the year 62 A.D., at a port in Crete called The Fair Havens. It was the same season of the year “when sailing was now dangerous, because the fast was now already past.” The haven was not commodious to winter in, and it was decided, after consultation and hesitation, like that of the returning Achaeans in Chios, and against the protest of the most celebrated of the passengers, to venture on the run to Phenice (Φοῖνιξ), a harbor about 40 miles away, barely half the distance

¹ Aesch. *Agam.* 817. The date is not explicitly named in Homer, but the whole narrative of the νόστοι, particularly γ 130-92, implies that the dangerous season had begun.

from Chios to Euboea. The voyage began prosperously; but "not long after there arose against it a tempestuous wind called Euroclydon" or Euraquilo; and, as we all know, the result was a shipwreck on the coast of Malta. It seems to me that, if the Achaeans "are not hardy sailors," precisely the same must be said of their successors 1,200 years later; and if in the one case the conclusion is to be drawn that the Homeric Greeks were not good enough sailors to reach the Euxine, and therefore, in fact, never did so, the same deduction is imperative not only for the Greeks of the historic age, but even for the Romans, which is absurd.

The amazing fact remains that, whatever we may say, and say with all truth, of the poorness of their means, the Greek sailors of every age "got there all the same." Instead of taunting them with not being hardy, it would surely be more just to apply to them Horace's phrase, "robur et aes triplex circa pectus erat." Only the Achaeans were not the first to commit the fragile cockleshell to the savage sea. Large overseas expeditions were, in fact, the order of the day when the Achaeans first appeared; in one of these at least there is reason to suppose that the Achaeans had taken part, invading Egypt in force a generation or two before the attack on Troy—for this I may perhaps refer to *Homer and History*, pp. 39-42. That a people who were capable of doing this or even of merely invading Troy should be judged too feeble or too cowardly to penetrate into the Euxine when they had seized the entrance to the Hellespont seems to me an impossible piece of logic, and I cannot for a moment accept it.

In fact, Mr. Maury's whole view of the sea picture presented in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* fairly makes me gasp. He seems to regard the Homeric Greeks as a quiet stay-at-home folk, quite content with the fatness of their "deep-soiled Phthia" and unwilling to trust themselves to the sea at all. He speaks of their "natural backwardness as sailors" (p. 462); the *Odyssey* is "peculiarly largely a book of compulsory travels," and so on. I can only say with regret that I am utterly unable to enter at all into this point of view, which is entirely new to me. To me it seems that the whole atmosphere of both poems is one of maritime daring. The very conception of a naval expedition to Troy is only thinkable for a people whose "march is o'er the mountain-waves, whose home is on the deep." Until I learn that there are others who share Mr. Maury's view, I need not perhaps do more than ask him to re-read those charming and invaluable vignettes of Aegean life, the various feigned narratives of Odysseus scattered through the *Odyssey*. Take one—that which is told to Eumaeus in § 199 ff. What does Odysseus there say of his life in Crete?

ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἔσκεν
οὐδ' οἰκωφελίη, ἣ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ἀλλὰ μοι αἰεὶ νῆες ἐπήρετ' μοι φίλαι ἦσαν . . .
πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Τροίης ἐπιβήμεναι νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
εἰνάκις ἀνδράσιν ἦρξα καὶ ὤκνητόροισι νέεσσι
ἄνδρας ἐς ἀλλοδάπους, καὶ μοι μάλα τίγχανε πολλά.

So in all the other stories—they all have their tale of sea venture. Or take the question asked of seafarers when they arrive unheralded, "Are you merchants or pirates?" Does not that include in itself a comprehensive picture of life in Homeric Greece? Piracy is no doubt regrettable, but at least it is the very acme of maritime adventure.

But I cannot dwell at more length on so well-worn a theme. I will only point to one remark of Mr. Maury's—"Homer is consistent: No ship is portrayed upon the Shield of Achilles." The point has of course been taken before, but in the exactly opposite sense. The omission, it is always said, is in such glaring contradiction to the whole picture of Homeric life that we must suppose Homer to have been describing some foreign work of art fabricated by people who knew not the sea.

And there I fear that I must leave the point at issue to the judgment of others. To me, Homer is full of the sea; his men are bold adventurers; if they are able to conduct a naval expedition to the mouth of the Hellespont and overthrow a fortress there, they are men to whom it would be a trifle to work their way up the narrow seas until they opened a new world in the Euxine. If they were men who were content to stay on the mainland of Greece and till the soil without troubling about the sea except under compulsion, then they must have lived under economic conditions which have never been found again in Greece in all history, and at which, considering the nature of the land, I cannot even guess.

WALTER LEAF

6 SUSSEX PLACE
REGENT'S PARK
LONDON

THE LEAF-RAMSAY THEORY OF THE TROJAN WAR

I am indebted to Mr. Leaf, who has sent me his copy of the *Classical Journal* for April, 1917, with an article by Mr. C. A. Maury on "The Leaf-Ramsay Theory of the Trojan War." I understand from Dr. Leaf's letter that he has sent some reply to this article. I wish to mention that the title might seem to imply co-operation between Dr. Leaf and myself, which is not the case; and I venture to add a few brief notes. But in the first place let me welcome Mr. Maury to the pages of the *Classical Journal*. He is in himself a proof of what I have always maintained, that the study of Greek is strong enough to stand and to exercise a wide influence without extraneous support. For maintaining this and for standing apart from classical defense associations and societies, on the ground that they are signs of weakness rather than of strength, I have been for forty years regarded by many enthusiastic and well-meaning classicists as a traitor to the cause of the classics and as an outlaw. My view, I am glad to say, is not now quite so much abominated in classical circles of Great Britain as it was forty years ago, or even twenty years ago.

1. I have long held, and gave lectures on the subject thirty years ago, that the discovery of the Black Sea played as great a part in the development of early Greek history and Greek ideals as the discovery of America has played in the history of modern Europe, and Mr. Maury quotes three sentences from an article of mine which appeared in the *Classical Review*, 1904, p. 165, emphasizing that; but this general statement does not justify Mr. Maury's title. Dr. Leaf has his own theory, which was published before I knew anything about it or had ever spoken a word to Dr. Leaf on the subject. The causes which led to the gradual growth of the great story of the Trojan War and ultimately to the composition of the greatest of all epic poems by a Greek poet are many and complex. Dr. Leaf differs from me in laying less stress on those religious elements which necessarily played a great part in producing the growth of Greek mythology and national tradition, and in so far as he notices the religious elements it is to set aside that on which I would lay most stress. This I mention merely to show that there is no "Leaf-Ramsay theory of the Trojan War."

2. Mr. Maury deals with history in the high and "fearless old fashion," which saw in it only the exploits of princes and knights and great warriors, but I doubt whether modern students of history would think it so easy as he does to multiply instances of "non-economic wars." I wonder whether he would class the present great war as "non-economic," because there is a certain chivalry in the defense of Belgium by other powers.

3. I cannot agree with Mr. Maury that there is no evidence of any Greek navigation in the Black Sea until the eighth century, when the Greek colonies were multiplied round the coasts of the Black Sea; for the work of colonization represents an advanced stage in the navigation of the Black Sea. The Greeks did not sail away, either with or without wives and children, to plant cities on the coasts of a hitherto untraversed, and to them very dangerous, sea. The foundation of the colonies implies centuries of previous navigation and trade, just as the foundation of colonies in Sicily and Magna Graecia implies that long series of voyages to the West which form the basis on which grew the story of the wanderings of Ulysses, destined to be made by a great poet into the *Odyssey*.

4. There is much to say about the real meaning of Greek mythology in its truest and earliest stages, when it embalmed history and religion and sociology and scientific speculation and international law. A great poet worked up all these into the Homeric poems, which are imperishable in the education of the world, because they are built upon that national store and foundation of ideas and ideals. Some will reply that there is no scientific speculation and no international law in the *Iliad*. Why, the *Iliad* rests on them. But on this it is not possible here to speak. At one time I hoped to express my views in two courses of lectures at Yale in 1915-17; but the war, with the demands that it makes on the work and time of all men, has made it impossible to go across the Atlantic.

5. One illustration is added, to which for many years I have vainly tried to make the Greek scholars attend by reiterated expositions. Even the dullest and least intellectual of all conquering races in Asia Minor has felt the need

to express in a prose epic of somewhat humble literary quality the national claims to moral justification in its conquest, for mere conquest gives no moral or legal right to a land. I refer to the Turks, who have made their hero, not a Turk, but an Arab, not a conqueror, but a leader defeated on a raid in 739 A.D., who was killed in the defeat and buried in an unknown grave or left to rot on the surface. By his death he consecrated the right of his coreligionists to possess the land in which he lay. He perished more than three centuries before any Turkish army had ever entered the country. The Turks themselves had no knowledge of his name or history, but there must have been gradually growing a legend which took him as the hero of Islam in Asia Minor. His grave is shown in a great building 60 or 80 miles nearer Constantinople than the field where he was defeated. There is hardly any historical truth in the details that are told about him; and yet there is ideal truth of a remarkable kind. Beside him lies the Christian princess whom he married, and through whom as the heiress he became the legitimate inheritor of the land where he lies. The old Anatolian feeling that the right of inheritance passed in the female line is enshrined in this epic legend. Although that legal and moral conception had been apparently extirpated by thousands of years of Greek and Roman and Christian domination, yet it expresses itself in this popular Anatolian legend as strongly as if it had never been proscribed by more advanced forms of civilization. The circumstances imply life and vigor during more than three centuries of a name and a history of which no trace has been preserved in written literature. So it is with the settlement of the Black Sea. Ideas of which Agamemnon did not dream are enshrined in his story.

6. Though Black Sea adventure plays practically no part in the *Iliad*, yet it must be remembered that the *Iliad* is only a fragment taken out of the tale of Troy by a great poet for his own purposes. To understand the *Iliad* you must have in mind always this fact, and remember the whole tale of which it is a part. Under and behind the *Iliad* is that vast basis of history and religion and adventure and voyage and trade and war; what is not said, but merely assumed, in the *Iliad* is in some respects more important than the written words of the poem; but the events of a few days in the tale of Troy found a poet.

In Mr. Maury's notes I miss any conception of this great store of the unexpressed Greek national consciousness. He seems to have read, if I may venture to make a remark on method, too much German and imitation-German criticism, and to have studied too little the real factors which make national life.

W. M. RAMSAY

[In one of the last letters I had from Andrew Lang he lamented the fact that his most vigorous attacks on the position of the enemy never drew their fire and that he had never had the satisfaction of withstanding an assault on any part of his works. Mr. Maury labors under no such sorrow, and he is to be congratulated in having attracted the attention of these eminent scholars.]

JOHN A. SCOTT

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and by Frederick C. Eastman, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Juliann A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Berkeley.—In connection with the annual session of the California High-School Teachers' Association, the Central Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States held two meetings at Berkeley, on the afternoons of July 18 and 19. There was a good attendance, with representation from all parts of the Pacific Coast.

The following papers were read: "A Roman Poetess," Miss Mary M. Smith; "The Purpose and Significance of the *Res gestae* Divi Augusti," Professor R. Scholz; "The Greeks in Rome," Dr. T. Petersson; "Tempora Mutantur: Quid Faciamus?" Miss Clara E. Bailey; "Sugar-coated Latin," Miss Valeria E. Mixer; "Some Observations of a Secondary Teacher of Latin of Forty Years' Experience in the State," Mr. F. O. Mower; "Sappho," Professor William K. Prentice; "Scenes of Life and Death from the Etruscan Tombs," Professor O. M. Washburn. The last-mentioned paper was illustrated with the stereopticon.

Officers elected for 1917-18 are: Mr. F. O. Mower, president; Dr. W. J. Wilson, vice-president; Miss C. E. Bailey, secretary. Members of the Executive Committee, Miss Pearl M. Small and Miss Grace A. Wood.

Oakland.—On the evening of June sixth the second-year Latin class of the College of the Holy Names presented Professor Schlicher's *Andromeda*. The leading parts were sustained by Alberta Agnew (Cepheus), Grace Foley (Cassiope), Charlotte Johnson (Andromeda), Alma De Luca (Perseus), and Edna Sullivan (Phineus).

The *Andromeda* presents some rather difficult problems, especially for a cast made up entirely of girls. Assignment of parts according to depth and strength of voice, with careful attention to costuming, solved one difficulty very satisfactorily. There is little rapidity of action in the play, and the

speeches are rather lengthy. Moreover, the plight of the unfortunate heroine is one that calls for a play of emotion that is not easy for high-school pupils to appreciate.

To help the audience follow the action, one of the students read from a scroll a summary of each scene before it was presented. Musical numbers interspersed gave opportunity for necessary changes behind the curtain. The stage setting and costuming were highly creditable for a secondary-school play of this character. Among other things, the electric lights were draped in such a way as to represent torches. The horror of Andromeda's position chained to the rock was enhanced by a dim and lurid glow. The enunciation of the actors was slow and distinct—in pleasing contrast to the thoughtless, rattling declamation too often heard under such circumstances. Real acting was apparent here and there. Taken all in all, the play was a most decided success; and much credit is due to Sister Mary Eustolia, under whose direction it was brought out.

Illinois

Harrisburg.—The Vergil class of the Harrisburg Township High School, under the direction of their instructor, Miss Tunison, presented Professor Miller's *Dido* last month in connection with a May fête on the lawn. The play proved very effective in an out-of-door performance. A dance by the same Carthaginian maidens who sang "Wake, Aurora," was added to the court scene.

The class has proven one of the most enthusiastic in the school this year. Interest started with a thesis contest, developing the topics suggested by Dr. Miller in *Classical Journal* (Vol. III, No. 4). The contest was judged on the point system, and each student was ranked in respect to (1) reading and research material, (2) original contributions and observations, (3) charts, maps, and illustrative material, (4) composition and oral delivery. The winning paper, on "Vergil's Art as a Story Teller—a Literary Criticism," was read before the assembled high school and succeeded in interesting every student.

Iowa

Waterloo.—Miss Lina H. Moore, instructor of Latin in the West Waterloo High School, has been active for a number of years in keeping Latin interest alive. Various devices to maintain interest have been employed. Last spring a Roman wedding, with realistic flowing draperies and all other accessories, was staged. A small admittance fee from a goodly and interested audience netted enough to purchase a beautiful statuette of Apollo for the school.

Iowa City.—The Latin department of the Iowa City High School gave a presentation of Miss Paxson's play, *A Roman School*, before the morning assembly recently. The play was given by the boys of the Sophomore and Junior classes, who entered into it with vim and earnestness. The play was coached by Miss Antonio J. Stober, who has charge of the high-school Latin.

The Iowa City High School has been especially fortunate in being able to enjoy and profit by the replicas of Pompeian bronzes recently secured by Professor Eastman for the Latin department of the State University.

Louisiana

The Classical Department of the Louisiana State Teachers' Association, meeting at Alexandria, held a session on Friday, April 13. About fifty were present. The president, Miss Florence R. Kerwin, of Houma, conducted the meeting and led the discussions.

The following program was given: "First-Year Latin," Miss Mary C. Stevens, of Shreveport; "The Sabin Charts," Miss Irene Miller, of Alexandria; "How to Vitalize the Study of Latin," R. W. Winstead, of the State Normal, Natchitoches.

Miss Sabin's charts, loaned for the occasion by Newcomb College, aroused interest.

It is gratifying to note that Louisiana has shown an increase of membership in the Classical Association of the Middle West and South during the past year.

A number of Louisiana schools now begin Latin in the first year of high school, though no credit is given by the state for the fourth year's work. A committee was appointed to draw up a resolution to the state authorities, asking that four units be allowed for Latin work, begun in the first year of high school and including a year of Vergil.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Miss Irene Miller, Alexandria; Vice-President, Miss Betsy Dupré, Lake Charles; Secretary, J. E. Harper, Gueydan.

Minnesota

Central High School, Minneapolis.—On May 17 the Latin Club of Central High, as a culmination to a series of successful programs, provided the entertainment at the regular weekly assembly of the student body. Tableaux depicting fifteen scenes taken from the second *Aeneid* were presented. The program opened with the scene in which Aeneas tells Dido and her subjects assembled within the banquet hall the story of the destruction of Troy. On the stage Dido sat on a throne o'erspread with rich rugs, herself resplendent in gorgeous robes. Reclining on couches so arranged that Dido sat at the apex of the angle of couches were fair maidens, some in rich colors, others in dazzling white. On either side, back of the couches, stood Carthaginian and Trojan soldiers in full armor. Aeneas reclined upon a couch at Dido's left, conspicuous before all, and the smallest boy in the Latin department, as Ascanius, sat at Dido's knee.

Other scenes represented were Cassandra dragged by soldiers, Greeks storming the palace of Priam, the murder of the aged king at the altar by Pyrrhus, Venus staying the arm of Aeneas, who is about to slay Helen, and the last scene in which the "pious" Aeneas bears away on his shoulders his aged father, followed by the rest of his dejected company of Trojans.

There were over forty students in the cast, fifteen principal characters, fifteen daughters of Priam, and twelve soldiers. As there are approximately six hundred members in the department, it was possible to find for the principal characters talent best suited for the posing.

To the two thousand and more students who were unfamiliar with the story, a clear-voiced member read from Conington's translation and told the account himself where the thread of the story was broken by the excerpts. By a signal device between the reader and the boy who operated the curtain the pictures were revealed in unbroken order and within the space of an hour. The generous applause from the student body was gratifying to the club members, who are convinced that the success of their undertaking has made certain their "place in the sun."

Ohio

Columbus.—The May meeting of the Columbus Latin Club was held at the Chittenden Hotel on the nineteenth of May. There were about fifty members present. The following program was given after the luncheon, which was served at noon: "A Glimpse of the Louisville Meeting," Mrs. Clara F. Milligan, North High School; "Gaudeamus Igitur," Latin Club Quartet; "Integer Vitae," Latin Club; "A Pilgrimage to Sirmio, the Home of Lucullus," Dr. Dwight M. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University; "America" (Kellogg's translation), Latin Club.

Before adjournment there was a short business meeting. At the suggestion of the president, Miss Alice D. Hare, the club voted to pursue a systematic course of reading for the coming year. A committee, consisting of Miss Harriet R. Kirby, North High; Miss Augusta Connolley, West High; Miss Margaret Campbell, Mt. Vernon, Ohio, was chosen to plan a course of classical reading similar to that of the New York State Reading League.

The officers for the coming year are: President, Mrs. Mary B. Guild, East High; Vice-President, Miss Edith Daniels, Columbus School for Girls; Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Edith S. Smith, North High.

Oregon

At a special meeting in Portland, Oregon, of the Classical Association of the Pacific States, in connection with the sessions of the National Education Association, July 11-13, the following program was presented: "The Need to Define Anew the Values of Latin," Milton E. Blanchard, Mission High School, San Francisco; "Classics and the Man of Science," Norman C. Thorne, Lincoln High School, Portland, Oregon; "Classics and the Man of Affairs," W. L. Brewster, Former City Commissioner, Portland, Oregon; "The Continued Tale of the Historical Novel," Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon; "The Direct Method: Three Years After," A. P. McKinlay, Lincoln High School, Portland, Oregon; "Teachers of Latin," Susan M. Dorsey, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Los Angeles, California; "Exaggeration and Other Elements of Humor in Roman Literature," Frank F. Potter, Washington

State College, Pullman, Washington; "Correlating Latin with History," Leona Larrabee, Lincoln High School, Portland, Oregon.

Virginia

Randolph-Macon Woman's College.—In connection with the installation of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at the Randolph-Macon Woman's College the department of Greek gave an open-air presentation of the *Antigone* of Sophocles which will long be remembered by all who witnessed the performance. The site selected for the play was a natural amphitheater on the campus, from every point of which even the lowest tones of the speakers could be distinctly heard. The play was given in Greek. Mendelssohn's music, with some necessary adaptations, was used for the choral odes. Many of the costumes were dyed for the occasion in order that they might harmonize with the out-of-door coloring. The selection of the cast was unusually happy, and the rendering as a whole was remarkably smooth and even. Translations were provided for the audience, but many of the listeners laid these aside in order to concentrate all attention on the beautiful and moving scenes before them. The acting of Miss Louise Swift, who played the part of Antigone, deserves especial mention for the depth of pathos and woe it portrayed. She rendered her lines with accuracy and feeling. The spirited play of the Guard and the powerful scene between Eurydice and the Messenger, as well as the sustained effort of the difficult rôle of Creon, won the admiration of the entire audience.

Professor Paul Shorey, of the University of Chicago, delivered the Phi Beta Kappa address on "The Power of Enthusiasm in Literature and Education."

Wisconsin

The Latin League of Wisconsin Colleges is a corporation formed by the Latin departments of the colleges of Beloit, Carroll, Lawrence, Milton, Milwaukee-Downer, and Ripon. They held their fifth annual contest recently at Madison, Wisconsin. There were seventeen candidates. The contest consists of an examination in two sessions. The morning session is devoted to the sight translation of Latin prose and poetry; the afternoon, to the writing of Latin.

The test this year was set by the Latin department of the University of Iowa. Professor Frederick H. Potter, chairman of the examining committee, announces that they were unanimous as to the ranking of the best five manuscripts submitted—the number honored by the League each year.

Miss Mildred Silver, of Lawrence College, took first place, winning the gold medal and the Louis G. Kirchner Memorial Prize of \$250.

Miss Mathilda Mathisen, of Ripon College, took second place and received the silver medal.

Miss Jessica North, of Lawrence College, was third in rank and gained the bronze medal.

"First Honorable Mention" was awarded to Miss Ruth Bradish, of Lawrence; "Second Honorable Mention," to Ripon.

Lawrence College won the Annis Wilson Trophy Cup for the coming year, since she had the strongest team in the contest.

Book Reviews

The New Greek Comedy. By P. E. LEGRAND, translated by JAMES LOEB. London: William Heinemann, and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917. Pp. xix+547. \$4.50.

Professor Legrand's *Daos, Tableau de la Comédie grecque pendant la Période dite nouvelle* appeared in 1910 and immediately commanded the favorable consideration of classical scholars. Now Mr. James Loeb, who had already translated Decharme's *Euripides and the Spirit of His Dramas* (1905) and Croiset's *Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens* (1909), has put us still further in his debt by providing an English version of Legrand as the concluding member of a trilogy of French works dealing with the history of ancient drama. The happy faculty of producing a balanced, perspicuous exposition of a period or field has long been recognized as the peculiar trait of French writers. Yet Legrand's original text contained much of the sheer erudition, technical detail, and striving for *Kombinationen* which are more usually associated with German scholarship. With the idea of securing the attention of a wider public, not a little which would be of interest primarily to specialists has been omitted in the present edition. The Translator's Preface states that the selection of passages for omission was made by the French author and that the bulk has thus been reduced by almost one-third. The cutting is especially severe in the initial chapter of Parts I and III. On p. 374, n. 2, p. 379, n. 1, and p. 385, n. 3, the translator deemed it necessary to indicate that the original account was more detailed. In general, the reduction is brought about by the omission or curtailment of footnotes. One would be greatly mistaken, however, if he concluded that the present version were thus rendered altogether suitable for the general reader, for Greek and Latin words, phrases, and sentences are left standing in the text with such frequency as to present a serious obstacle to all but the classically trained. Mr. Loeb himself seems to have come to a belated consciousness of this situation, for beginning at p. 252 he has introduced over a score of notes, most of which are mere translations of Greek words. As a rule, the terms thus elucidated do not seem to be unusually hard to understand; and other expressions, of equal or even greater difficulty, appear by the hundreds untranslated and unexplained.

Naturally, numerous articles and books dealing with Greek New Comedy have been published during the last seven years, and it would have added considerably to the value of the book if the author or translator could have brought the bibliographical references quite up to date. At the very end this possibility apparently dawned upon the translator, for in his interpolated footnote

on p. 531 he has made a brief start in this direction. But, of course, this is something which we should have appreciated if it had been provided, but which we have no right to demand. Similarly, English readers of the non-technical type might have welcomed the substitution of references to English and American publications, where equivalents exist, for the predominant citations of Gallic writers. But the tendency seems, if anything, to be rather in the opposite direction. At any rate, I notice that in the opening chapter of Part I, to look no farther, references to Professor Capps's article in *Harvard Studies*, XV, and to Dr. Clark's paper in *Classical Philology*, I, which appeared in the French edition on p. 31, n. 12, and p. 38, n. 1, are among those discarded in the present version.

I have tested the translation at numerous points and have found it uniformly accurate. Mr. Loeb treats the original with some freedom, frequently recasting a sentence or even redistributing the sequence of ideas a little, yet the essentials of the thought seldom suffer. One rarely becomes conscious that he is not reading an original work, and Professor John Williams White, who contributed a brief "Introduction to the English Version," was fully justified in referring to the translation as "engaging." Nevertheless, in a volume of such compass some errors are inevitable. Thus on p. 25 a certain personage is represented as being "a great amateur of fish," whereas *grand amateur de poisson* of course means simply that he was fond of them. On p. 132 Chrysis, in the *Andria*, is said to have been "the pretty courtesan with whom Simo's son had had relations" (*chez qui son fils fréquentait*). The English expression does not follow the French closely enough to be true to the facts. Pamphilus resorted to Chrysis' house and was at first thought by his father to be in love with her, but in fact her sister, Glycerium, was the object of his attentions. On p. 254 occurs the following: "Aristotle, whose *Poetics* contains, in its second half, a theory of comedy," which would imply that the second book of the *Poetics* is still extant; the original reads *renfermait*. On p. 299 is an allusion to the "*Heracleides* or the *Theseides* at which Aristotle scoffs." The translator has been misled by the French form of these titles, which would be *Heracleids* and *Theseids* in English. On p. 386 "at the end of their plays" is not adequate for *à la fin des actes de leurs pièces*. Though the list could be extended, these are very slight faults in so large a work.

I have noted several misprints of a minor sort. On p. 368, nine lines from the bottom, "spying" should be read for "springing." On p. 407, n. 6, I was puzzled by a reference to the "*Deutsch. Rhein. Mus.*" until a glance at the French text showed that the first word was a typesetter's emendation for the name of Professor Skutsch!

The original edition had no index, but Professor Capps has supervised the compilation of an extensive index (pp. 533-47) for the translation. Where so much is given, it is perhaps ungracious to ask for more. Yet a complete index of passages would have been desirable. At any rate, as I read I noticed incidental discussions of several passages which I should not have wanted to miss,

but which the present index would not enable anyone to find. On pp. 246 and 315 the translator has followed Legrand in giving cross-references, by page, to previous discussions of the same topic, and in so large a volume this plan might have been extended with profit. Less precise cross-references are occasionally given, but are far less helpful.

It is hard to refrain from discussing the treatment of some of the subjects handled by Legrand, but it is a little late in the day for that now. There is the less need of this for the reason that the French edition was competently reviewed from this standpoint by Professor Prescott in *Classical Philology*, V (1910), 377 ff., which under the happy conditions then prevailing came automatically to every member of our Classical Association. I shall limit myself, therefore, to a bare statement of the distribution of the material. The Introduction sets forth the "Plan and Scope of This Work." Part I deals with the "Subject Matter of New Comedy," and falls into five chapters as follows: "What New Comedy Rejected," "The Sources of Our Knowledge—Examination of the Chief Sources," "The Dramatis Personae," "Adventures," and "Recapitulation—Realism and Imagination in New Comedy—Literary Sources and Repetitions." "The Structure of the Plays of New Comedy" is the topic of Part II, which in four chapters treats the "Extent to Which the Latin Comedies Enlighten Us about the Composition of Their Prototypes," "Internal Structure—the Plot or Action," "External Structure—Stage Conventions," and "External Structure—Peculiarities of Dramatic Technique." Part III, "The Purpose of New Comedy and the Causes of Its Success," contains three chapters, which are devoted to the moral value, comic elements, and pathetic qualities respectively of New Comedy. The contents of the book are far richer than this bald outline would suggest.

In conclusion I wish to express my personal indebtedness to Mr. Loeb for the aid which he is rendering to students of the classics by his translations of standard French works in our field. Few of us feel so much at home with any foreign tongue as not to shrink from reading over a thousand pages of solid text without omissions or evasions; yet that is the amount of the ripest French scholarship which has now been put within easy reach of every English-reading classicist. This means, of course, that, whereas these works have mainly been used only for reference purposes on the part of specialists, they may now be read from cover to cover by everyone. I sincerely hope that Mr. Loeb may find the time to continue his service and that we may not have to wait long for the fourth volume from his pen.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained of Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert Co., 29-35 West 3rd St., New York City.

- BURNS, C. D. *Greek Ideals*. New York: Macmillan. 12mo, pp. xii+257. \$2.00 net.
- COWLES, F. H. *Gaius Verres; An Historical Study*. (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.) New York: Longmans. Pp. 207. \$1.50 net.
- DECHARME, P. *Euripides and the Spirit of His Dramas*. New York: Putnam. 8vo, pp. 415. \$3.00 net.
- DUTTON, EMILY H. *Studies in Greek Prepositional Phrases, διδ, ἀπό, ἐκ, ἐκ, ἐκ, ἐκ*. Menasha, Wis.: G. Banta. 8vo, pp. ix+211. \$1.50 net.
- FREEMAN, C. E., and LOWE, W. D. *A Greek Reader for Schools*. Adapted from Aesop, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plato. With introduction, notes, and vocabulary. New York: Oxford University Press. 8vo, pp. iv+142. \$0.85 net.
- GASELEE, S. *Achilles Tatius*. With an English translation. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. 18mo, pp. xvi+461. \$1.50 net.
- HOLMES, T. R., and LOANE, G. G. *Caesar's Campaigns in Britain*. Edited by T. RICE HOLMES, with a vocabulary, compiled by G. G. LOANE. New York: Oxford University Press. 8vo, pp. 160. \$0.50 net.
- JONES, H. L. *The Geography of Strabo*. With an English translation, based in part upon the unfinished version of J. R. S. STERRETT. In 8 vols. Vol. I. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. 18mo, pp. xliii+531. \$1.50 net.
- LEGRAND, P. E. *The New Greek Comedy*. Translated by JAMES LOEB, with an introduction by JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE. New York: Putnam. Pp. xix+547. \$4.50 net.
- LEONARD, W. E. *Lucretius's Of the Nature of Things*. A metrical translation. New York: Dutton. Pp. xv+301. \$1.75 net.
- MATHESON, P. E. *The Discourses and the Manual of Epictetus, Together with the Fragments of His Writings*. Translated, with introduction and notes. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press. 8vo, pp. 246; 280. Each, \$1.50 net.
- MAYOR, J. E. B., and SOUTER, A. *Tertullian's Apologeticus*. The text of Oehler, annotated, with an introduction by J. E. B. MAYOR and an English translation by A. SOUTER. New York: Putnam. Pp. xx+496. \$3.75 net.

Classical Association OF THE Middle West and South

Officers of the Association

President

CHARLES N. SMILEY
GRINNELL COLLEGE, GRINNELL, IOWA

First Vice-President

DANIEL A. PENICK
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN, TEXAS

Secretary-Treasurer

LOUIS E. LORD
OBERLIN COLLEGE, OBERLIN, OHIO

Vice-Presidents for the States

ALABAMA	HORTENSE THORNTON	BIRMINGHAM
ARKANSAS	GUY A. SIMMONS	CONWAY
COLORADO	HIRAM GILLESPIE	WESTMINSTER
FLORIDA	JOSIAH B. GAME	TALLAHASSEE
GEORGIA	E. K. TURNER	OXFORD
ILLINOIS	ROLLIN H. TANNER	JACKSONVILLE
INDIANA	FRANK H. COWLES	CRAWFORDSVILLE
IOWA	F. C. EASTMAN	IOWA CITY
KANSAS	O. G. MARKHAM	BALDWIN
KENTUCKY	M. A. LEIPER	BOWLING GREEN
LOUISIANA	EDWARD A. BECHTEL	NEW ORLEANS
MICHIGAN	CHEEVER HOYT	DETROIT
MINNESOTA	ARTHUR L. KEITH	NORTHFIELD
MISSISSIPPI	ALFRED W. MILDEN	UNIVERSITY
MISSOURI	H. H. ARMSTRONG	SPRINGFIELD
NEBRASKA	OLIVIA M. POUND	LINCOLN
N. CAROLINA	CHARLES W. PEPPLER	DURHAM
N. DAKOTA	GUY R. VOWLES	FARGO
NEW MEXICO	C. B. NEWCOMER	STATE COLLEGE
OHIO	EDWIN L. FINDLEY	CLEVELAND
OKLAHOMA	C. W. JEFFRIES	EDMOND
S. CAROLINA	MINNIE A. GEE	SPARTANBURG
S. DAKOTA	LOUISE FRENCH	HURON
TENNESSEE	DAVID R. LEE	CHATTANOOGA
TEXAS	DANIEL A. PENICK	AUSTIN
UTAH	ALICE E. ROWE	SALT LAKE CITY
VIRGINIA	HERBERT C. LIPSCOMB	LYNCHBURG
WEST VIRGINIA	CHARLES E. BISHOP	MORGANTOWN
WISCONSIN	LUCIA SPOONER	SUPERIOR
WYOMING	IDA B. HULL	SHERIDAN

Executive Committee

THE PRESIDENT, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT, SECRETARY-TREASURER,
AND

WILLIAM G. HALE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, ILL.

WALTER HULLIHEN

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH, SEWANEE, TENN.

A. L. BONDURANT

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI, UNIVERSITY, MISS.

J. B. PIKE

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Classical Journal

is the official organ of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. The Association is organized for the purpose of encouraging the development of the study of the classics; to provide a means of intercommunication between teachers of the classics—whether in the secondary schools, in the colleges, or in the universities of the territory it covers; and generally to promote a unity of thought and action in the broad field of classical teaching. Membership in the Association is open to all teachers of the classics and to other individuals interested in classical studies who reside in the territory covered by the Association. The membership fee in the Classical Association is \$2.00 per year, \$1.25 of which is the subscription price of the Journal, and 75 cents of which is devoted to membership dues. The subscription price of the Classical Journal alone is \$2.50 per year, of Classical Philology, \$3.00 per year. The value of these journals to those interested in the classics, either as students or as teachers, cannot be measured by the cost of membership. The advantages involved in this offer should therefore appeal strongly to those who find themselves in this class.

Application for membership in the Association should be made to the Vice-President of the state in which the applicant resides (see list on page three of cover), or to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Association.